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AN EARLY MONGOLIAN VERSION OF THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

BY

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PREFACE

Professor Nikolaus Poppe published in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 107 (1957).105-129 an article entitled "Eine mongolische Fassung der Alexandersage." It is without question the most important contribution of recent years to the field of early Mongolian literature. While Professor Poppe's identification of the anonymous and fragmentary text which constitutes pages 7r-13v¹ of the Turfan document "T I D 155"² as a Mongolian version of the Alexander romance is in itself an achievement of the first magnitude, his transcription, translation, and annotation of it are an accomplishment of no lesser importance. In the frustrating and discouraging task of deciphering a text of so fragmentary a nature, Professor Poppe has acquitted himself in a manner which can but arouse the admiration and respect of everyone concerned with Mongolian studies. In making accessible for the first time in a European language the content of this singular work, he has incurred the debt of specialists in comparative literature and folklore. Above all, with this single publication he has brought our perspective of early Mongolian literature into sharper focus.

I first learned of the existence of the text through a letter from Dr. Herbert F. Schurmann, written in Berlin on 26 August 1951, after his preliminary inspection of the Turfan documents in the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Of this text he wrote:

T I D 155 is the very delicate remains of a book (probably fragments of as much as 15 pages are extant) parts of which are written in Mongolian and the remainder in Uyghur. On the label attached to the glass plate there is the following notation: "Türk. Text publiziert Asia Major Franke Festschrift. T I D 155 Uyghur. u. Mongol." Unfortunately, I was not able to consult the issue of *AM* in question.

In a second letter, dated 27 August 1951, Dr. Schurmann supplied additional details:

Let me now come to the book T I D 155 which I mentioned but did not describe in my previous letter. Today I had a chance to look at the article of W. Bang and G. R. Rahmati entitled "Lieder aus Alt-Turfan" in *Asia Major* 9 (1933).129-140 in which this book is mentioned. The article brings in transcription only the Uyghur text from about the middle of p. 15b to the end, i. e., p. 17b. Even so, the transcription is full of lacunae due to the poor condition of the document and the many holes therein. Outside of a cursory remark that the book contains some writings in Mongolian, the authors make no further mention of the Mongolian part. However, there

¹ Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 105, has "die Seiten 7b bis 14a," but it should be observed that, inasmuch as the Arabic numerals indicating the pages or folios of the text were regularly placed by someone on the *recto*, not the *verso*, of each page or folio, the correct pagination or foliation is 7r-13v.

² Cf. Erich Haenisch, "Mongolica der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung, I, Ein buddhistisches Druckfragment vom Jahre 1312," *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst*, Jahrgang 1953, Nr. 3, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1954, pp. 1-22 + 24 "Texttafeln," p. 4: "TID 155/ms 17 Bl. (1-9 stark von Ratten zerfressen) Bl. 7-15vZ. 6 mo., anschließend uigur. Text, s. AM IX, 2, 1933, , Lieder aus Alt-Turfan'."

is a considerable body of readily legible Mongolian text in the book. From about p. 9b on (actually as far back as p. 6b, although the greater part of the page has been destroyed) up to p. 15b we have a continuous Mongolian text, very legible, and only broken by a large tear at the bottom of the pages which becomes smaller toward the end of the book. The writing is in Uyğur script and seems to be in the same handwriting as the Uyğur Turkish text which Bang and Rahmati transcribe and translate. Photographing this text will be extremely difficult. The photograph which is on p. 129 of the above-mentioned article is of the last page, i. e., p. 17b of the document, the page which is in the best condition. The first few pages are almost total losses and are almost impossible to pry apart. The very beginning, by the way, seems to be in Uyğur Turkish too, so that the actual Mongolian text begins somewhere in the middle of the book, probably around p. 5, or even before. Each page has 13 columns. The book is bound in Near Eastern style, i. e., by a string and with backing, like European books. Each page measures roughly 14.5 by 18.5 cm.

The reference to the Mongolian text in the article by Bang and Rahmati—the first, I believe, in any published source—is found at the very beginning (pp. 129-130):

Die hier veröffentlichten Lieder entstammen einem kleinen, leider arg zeretzten Buch, das Albert v. Le Coq von der I. Turfan-Expedition mitgebracht hat. Es enthält im ersten Teile türkische und mongolische Erzählungen, woran sich dann ganz [130] unvermittelt die türkischen Lieder anschließen. Von diesen haben wir versucht zu retten, was noch zu retten war.

Through the good offices of Dr. Richard Hartmann, as I have already stated in a previous study,³ steps were taken to procure reproductions of the several Mongolian documents from Turfan and permission for their transmission to me. Upon receiving the reproductions from Dr. Hartmann, I had copies made and, in due course, supplied duplicate sets to both Professor Poppe and the Reverend Antoine Mostaert. It was in a letter dated 21 December 1955 that Professor Poppe communicated the exciting news that he had identified the text as a Mongolian version of the Alexander romance:

. . . The whole story is very fragmentary. Many lines are missing. However, the story is extremely interesting, because Sulqarnai is obviously the Arabic name *Dūl-Qarnain* "The One Who Has Two Horns." This is the nickname of Alexander the Great, although some other persons were also called so.

In his highly interesting and informative article "Ардчилсан Герман Улсын Шинжлэх Ухааны Академиар оросон тухай тэмдэглэл" ["Remarks Concerning a Visit to the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic"]⁴ in ШИНЖЛЭХ ухаан [Science], № 3, 1954,⁵ pp. 22-

³ Cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The *Bodistw-a Čari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur* of 1312 by Čosgi Odsir," *HJAS* 17 (1954).1-129 (+ Plates I-XXIV) (p. 3).

⁴ In the "Содержание" ["(Table of) Contents"] (p. 1) the Russian translation of the Mongolian title is "В Академию Наук Германской Демократической Республики" ["To the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic"].

⁵ I am indebted to Professor Garma D. Sanžeev for his kindness in sending me this number of the ШИНЖЛЭХ ухаан.

29, the distinguished Mongolian Academician Professor C. Damdinsüren⁶ remarked (pp. 25-26):

* * *

Тэр номыг үзсэний дараа миний чухам хүсэж ирсэн дорно дахины бичмэл зүйлийн танхимд ирлээ. Монгол бичмэлийн зүйлийг үзүүлнэ үү гэсэнд над шилэн хавтастай 50-иад бичиг авчирч өглөө. Энэ хуучин түүхт номыг хамгаалахын тул хуудас бүрийг хоёр шилэн дотор хавчуулж хатуу цаасаар эмжиж наагаад хадгалж байна. Энэ номыг үзэхэд номын цаасанд гар хүрэх явдалгүй юм. Тэр бичгүүдийг үзвэл 30 гаруй нь дан Уйгур хэлээр бичсэн Уйгур бичиг байлаа. Үлдсэн 20-аад хуудас нь XIV зууны үеийн монгол бичиг байлаа. XIV зууны үеийн монгол бичгийн хэлбэр онцгой ялгавартай бөгөөд Уйгур бичигтэй их төстэй байсан юм. XIV

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зууны үеийн гар бичмэл 10-аад хуудас ном байна. Үүний гадаад өнцөгт шилэн дээр (Asia Major) гэдэг Германы эрдэм шинжлэлийн сэтгүүлд энэ тухай хэвлэгдсэн зүйл бий гэж тэмдэглэсэн байна. Энэ бичмэл номоос хэдэн мөрийг сийрүүлбэл ийм байна:

ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ

ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ

ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ

Цааш нь бас хэдэн хуудсыг уншиж үзлээ. Энэ номын нийт ууга нь: Нэг хүн мөнхийн усыг ууж үүрд мөх амьд багхыг хүссэнд нөгөө хүн хорьж чиний танил нөхөд ураг садан чинь үхэж дуусвал чи ганцаараа амьд байсны хэрэг юу байх вэ гэж сургах юм. Ийм нэг бяцхан зохил байв. Энэ зохил бусад хэлнээс орчуулагдсан юм уу, монгол хэл дээр зохиогдсон алин бэлхыг олж чадсангүй. (Мохыг оролдох зав ч байсангүй.

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[After having seen those books, I came to the room of the oriental manuscripts for which I had especially desired to come. Upon [my] having said, "Will one show [me] the Mongolian manuscripts?" one brought to me 50 documents more or less with glass covers. For the sake of preserving these old historical books, one keeps [them], pressing each leaf between two [plates of] glass, hemming [the latter] with hard paper, having glued [it on them]. At the moment when [I] saw these books, [I saw that] there was no occasion for the hands to come in contact with the paper of the books. When [I] saw those documents, [I saw that] 30-odd were Uighur documents written entirely in the Uighur language. The remaining twenty leaves more or less were Mongolian documents of the XIV[th] century. The appearance of the Mongolian documents of the XIV[th] century is different and is very similar to [that of] the Uighur documents. The manuscript of the XIV[th] [26] century is a book of 10 leaves more or less. On the outer corner of this, on the glass, it has been noted that there is something published concerning this in the German learned periodical called *Asia Major*. If [we] transcribe a few lines from this manuscript book, they are such:

«*usun urubasu keb kefejng tngri γajar qubiltala üli ükün masi sarun yadafu ülküü*

⁶ I. e., Čengdū-yin Damdingsürüng. Cf. e. g. Nicholas Poppe, *HJAS* 21 (1958) 193-194, n. 1.

aqui-a saγar bolju aqu ǰi irgen orγan ǰinu bǰgǰde ǰkǰǰǰ ǰinu ber aγsan ǰinu γaγǰaγar yaγun tus-a »

Further, I read and looked at several more pages. The general sense of this book [is as follows]: At the moment when one man wished, by drinking the water of eternity, to be in everlasting and eternal life, another man, dissuading, instructs, saying, "If thine acquaintances and companions and members of [thy] family end up by dying, the necessity for thee to be alone in life, what is it?" There was one such little work. Was this work translated from another language? [Was it] composed in the Mongolian language? [I] was not able to find which [of the two] is [correct]. There was not even time for me to try to find [the answer].]

Although Professor Damdinsǰren was too pressed for time, on the occasion of his visit to the Academy of Sciences, to reach any positive conclusions as to the nature and identity of the Mongolian БИЧМЭЛ НОМ ["manuscript book"], his citation⁷ and paraphrase of the passage beginning in line 11 on page 11v and ending with line 2 on page 12r constitute the first ever to appear in print and entitle him to recognition which must not go unchronicled in the history of the scholarship on the text.

In view of the tremendous importance of this text for the history of early Mongolian literature, it seemed to me that an English translation was highly desirable. As the translation which I here present is based on a reading of the text which, in some particulars, differs from that of Professor Poppe, I also present my own transcription. In consideration of the difficulties with which such a text is beset and the fact that it is practically impossible for any single person to cope with them all, it is but to be expected that there are instances in which Professor Poppe, having deciphered a word inaccurately, has mistranslated, instances in which a word, having resisted his efforts to decipher, may yield to those of another, and instances in which his restorations may be modified or supplemented in a manner designed to enhance our understanding of the text. In annotating the text, I have added only such notes as are designed to supplement those provided by Professor Poppe or, occasionally, to replace one of his which, because of a change in reading, is necessarily superseded. In addition, I have appended an "Index Verborum Mongolicorum" to facilitate reference to the vocables of the text. If I am able to make any independent contribution to the understanding of the text, it is, in the first instance, owing to the brilliant work which Professor Poppe has done in laying it open for further study. At the same time, I feel constrained to say that, had Professor Poppe and I been able each to examine the original text, we unquestionably could have deciphered some of the words which are almost invisible in the reproductions and verified others of which our readings are doubtful. I hope, therefore, that one of our colleagues, to whom the original is accessible, will have occasion to examine it with an eye to deciphering words which we have left undeciphered and to verifying those of doubtful reading.

⁷In the "Шинжлэх ухаан" сэтгүүлийн 1954 оны № 3-ын доторхи алдаануудын залруулга" ["Correction of Errors which are in № 3 of the Year 1954 of the periodical *Science*"], *γajar* with the two points to mark the soft velar is corrected to *γaγar* without the two points. To the "Correction of Errors" there should be added the following: For *irgen orγan ǰinu* read *ade irgen orγan ǰinu*.

I cannot close this Preface without an acknowledgment of my deep indebtedness to the Reverend Antoine Mostaert, with whom I have corresponded relative to numerous problems in connection with the transcription, translation, and annotation of the text, not only for his kindness in replying to my inquiries in his habitually gracious manner, but also for his willingness to share with me his own readings of certain words which very substantially contribute to a better understanding of the text. Needless to say, his readings have been duly and appropriately acknowledged.

In making, as I have, the above acknowledgment, I do not in any manner disclaim responsibility for the imperfections of my work.

INTRODUCTION

Preliminary Remarks

Our Mongolian version of the Alexander Romance, in which the quest of immortality seems to be the predominant theme, consists of four distinct episodes: (1) the ascent upon Mount Sumur, (2) the descent to the bottom of the sea, (3) the descent to the land of darkness, and (4) the return to the city of Misir.

Because of the excessively fragmentary character of the beginning of the text, much of the first episode has been lost. However, we can make it out in its general lines: In ancient times, in the land of Qurasan (X(u)rāsān),¹ in the city named Misir (Miṣr),² there lived a man named Sulqarnai (Dū'l-qarnain).³ Someone, it appears, says something about living for two—possibly three—thousand years and tells Sulqarnai that he is favored by Heaven. Sulqarnai, thereupon, assembles his *noyad*⁴ ("officers"), and reports to them what he has heard, stating, it seems, that he wishes to live three thousand years. He sets forth and reaches a great land in which he crosses a bridge with fifty good *nöked*⁵ ("companions"), but he alone ascends upon Mount Sumur (Sumeru)⁶ whence he surveys the whole world. On the Mount there is a strap, by which, tying it to himself, Sulqarnai descends to make an inquiry of one of his *nöked*. The *garudi* (*garuḍa*)⁷ bird, upon seeing him descending, tells him that he is foolish, and makes still other observations which seem to dissuade him from his quest of immortality on Mount Sumur.

Of the second episode, the descent to the bottom of the sea, more can be related, because the text becomes increasingly complete: Upon hearing from Sulqarnai that he intends to descend to the bottom of the sea, his *noyad* try to dissuade him, warning him of the innumerable, terrible creatures there to be encountered, but, in the face of his determination to make the descent, they express the wish that he escape all harm. Sulqarnai has built a *qaraba*⁸ big enough to accommodate two persons. Furthermore, he has nets placed outside the *qaraba* and has innumerable ropes twisted—long enough to stretch a distance of 5,000 *mod*.⁹ Within the *qaraba* he loads food and provisions and, tying a stone firmly

to the *qaraba*, goes into the sea. At some point—it is not clear where, but presumably, the bottom of the sea—someone engages him in a conversation, in the course of which he has occasion to refer to his ascent upon Mount Sumur. Upon being urged to return swiftly, he makes the ascent back to the surface of the sea in one moon and relates to his *noyad* all that he has seen within the sea.

With the beginning of the third episode, the text is complete for several lines: Sulqarnai now informs his *nöked*, *noyad*, that he will set with Mother Sun and descend to the land of darkness. As they discuss this new venture which he proposes, he commands them to follow. Setting with the sun, they reach the entrance of darkness and, upon entering, encounter someone who says something to Sulqarnai which, because of *lacunae* in the text, is but partially comprehensible. Sulqarnai, after a word to his *nöked*, turns back from the land of darkness. As he draws near to the entrance of darkness, a person who does not reveal himself gives him a cup full of the water of immortality with the assurance that, after drinking the water, he will live for three thousand years. Then Sulqarnai says something to his *nöked* who reply with a statement of which the essential elements have been lost. Upon going outside, Sulqarnai again speaks to his *nöked*, asking what hinders them from drinking the water and gives it to them. The *nöked*, however, are of two minds—some wishing to drink the water and some being in a quandary, not knowing whether to do so or not. Thereupon, a wise *noyan* tells Sulqarnai that he will weary of immortality and that it will avail him nothing to exist alone in the world. He reminds him that people who follow him will be born no more and concludes his counsel with words to the effect that, if Sulqarnai does not fear that, later, regretting to find himself alone on the earth, he might say to himself that, if he had not drunk the water, he would not find himself in such a circumstance, then he should drink it. These words of wisdom are heeded by Sulqarnai who pours out the water which falls upon the leaves of the cypress tree which, in consequence, is ever green.

In the fourth and final episode Sulqarnai returns safe and sound

to the city of Misir whence he had gone forth in quest of immortality. Assembling his *nöked*, he recounts his experiences and tells them that there has never been born a sovereign who has rejoiced so much as he. He then makes his testamentary charge: after his death, they are to take him once around the world, to offer a thousand fine maidens, to fill a thousand *natur*¹⁰ of gold with big pearls, little pearls, and gold, to choose a thousand young and good wrestler-athletes, and zitherists, to send a thousand sons—those who are twenty or thirty years old, to send a thousand white-headed old men, to send some persons—perhaps, soldiers—bearing spears and swords, and to cause his hands to be exposed to view. At that point, there are *lacunae* in the text and the elements essential for a perfect comprehension of what follows are missing. The episode is brought to a close, however, with Sul-qarnai's death.

Each of these four episodes has its counterpart in other versions of the Romance, although the thematic patterns are variable, no two versions, it appears, having all the same thematic elements. The disengagement and isolation of the latter for comparative purposes is sometimes extremely difficult. As already noticed by Professor Poppe,¹¹ a counterpart of the first episode is found in the *Nativitas et victoria Alexandri Magni regis* by the Archipresbyter Leo. Cf. Dr. Friedrich Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo*,¹² pp. 111-112:

X. Abinde venimus ad quendam locum, in quo erat arbor, quae non habebat fructum neque folia, et sedebat super avis, quae habebat super caput suum lucentes radios sicut sol, quae vocabatur Fenix.

XI. Deinde venimus ad montem, et erat sub eo ripa, in qua pendebat catena aurea, et habebat ipse mons grados duo milia quingenti ex saffiro. Ascendi aut (t)em ipsum mon-[112]tem cum aliquantis militibus meis et inveni ibi palacium habentem limitarem et superlimitarem et fenes[tras] et timpana et cymbala ex auro. Et erat templum ibi totum aureum et erat ibi lectus cum preciosa lectisternia. Iacebat ibi unus homo magnissimus atque clarissimus, indutus veste alba, bambicea, ornata ex auro et lapidibus preciosis. Vidi ibi et auream viniam ferentem botros ex lapidibus preciosis adoravique ipsum hominem et descendi.

[X. From thence we came to a certain place, in which there was a tree, which had neither fruit nor leaves, and there was sitting above a bird, which had above its head shining rays just as the sun, which was called Fenix (= Phoenix).

XI. Thence we came to a mountain, and there was under it a bank in which there was hanging a golden chain and the¹³ mountain had two thousand five hundred steps of sapphire. I ascended, moreover, the mountain [112] with some of my soldiers and I found there a palace having a threshold¹⁴ and an over-threshold¹⁵ and windows and drums and cymbals of gold. And there was a temple there, all golden, and there was there a bed with a precious cushion,¹⁶ There was lying there one man, very big and very bright, clothed in a white, cotton¹⁷ garment, adorned with gold and precious stones. And I saw there a golden vine bearing clusters¹⁸ of precious stones and I revered the man and descended.]

The following thematic elements in Leo's text are immediately identifiable with their counterparts in the Mongolian text: the *mons* ("mountain") is the *Sumur tay* ("Mount Sumur") (7v12), the *catena aurea* ("golden chain") is the *tasman* ("strap") (8r5), and the *Fenix* ("Phoenix") is the *garudi sibayun* ("garuḍa bird") (8r7). At the same time, it is evident that in the Mongolian version two independent episodes have been telescoped in an inverse order so that the relation of the ascent upon the mountain precedes that of the encounter with the bird. That the sequence of the two episodes in Leo's text probably is earlier than that in the Mongolian text seems clear from the Syriac version of the Alexander Romance, where the encounter with the "'palm bird' (phoenix)" not only precedes the relation of the ascent upon a high mountain, but, in fact, is further disengaged from it by the intervention of yet another episode, that of the encounter with "two birds." Cf. Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great, Being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes*,¹⁹ pp. 101-102. Of the "'palm bird' (phoenix)" we read in the latter version (Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 101):

And from thence we set out and came to a certain place which was waste; and in the midst of that place there was a bird sitting upon a tree without leaves and without fruit, and it had upon its head something like the rays of the sun, and they called the bird the 'palm bird' (phoenix).

In the Syriac version the episode concerning the mountain, the temple built on the top of it, and the "chain of gold" with which it was girt round, is related in considerable detail. Cf. Budge, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102. It also is related in comparable detail in

the Ethiopic version. Cf. E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great, Being a Series of Translations of the Ethiopic Histories of Alexander by the Pseudo-Callisthenes and Other Writers*,²⁰ pp. 154-155.

For the episode in the Mongolian version Professor Poppe also refers²¹ to Carolus Müller, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*,²² pp. 89-90. However, on the pages in question, we find the end of "Lib. II, 37," the entire "Lib. II, 38," the entire "Lib. 39," and the beginning of "Lib. II, 40." It really is only in "Lib. II, 40" (Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91) that we find an episode which can be regarded as having a thematic pattern for which a counterpart may be detected in the Mongolian version of the Romance. At the beginning of "Lib. II, 39," we find, it is true, the word *γεφυρώσας* "having bridged" in the line which begins: *Ἐκείνην οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος γεφυρώσας. . . .* "Therefore, Alexander having bridged that (i. e., the *φάραγξ* ['ravine'])," That the words *kegürge getüljü* ("crossing a bridge") in the Mongolian text (7v11) do not constitute, however, a counterpart of this, seems evident from the fact that the episode in the Greek text concerns places where the sun did not shine (*ὅπου ὁ ἥλιος οὐκ ἔλαμπεν*), the so-called land of the blessed (*ἡ καλουμένη μακάρων χώρα*).²³ In the episode found in "Lib. II, 40," however, it is related: *καὶ ἐθεάσατο τρία ὄρνεα πετόμενα καὶ μόνον ἔχοντα ὄψεις ἀνθρωπίνας, Ἑλληνικῇ δὲ διαλέκτῳ ἐξ ὕψους κραυγάζοντα αὐτῷ. «Ἡ χώρα ἣν πατεῖς, Ἀλέξανδρε, τοῦ θεοῦ μόνου ἐστίν. ἀνάστρεφε δέιλαιε. μακάρων χώραν πατεῖν οὐ δυνήσῃ. Ἀνάστρεφον οὖν, ἄνθρωπε, καὶ τὴν δεδομένην σοι γῆν πάτει, καὶ μὴ κόπους πάρεχε σεαυτῷ.»* ["And he beheld three birds²⁴ flying and having only human faces, and from a height croaking to him in the Hellenic language, 'The country which thou treadest, Alexander, is of God alone. Turn back, wretched! Thou shalt not be able to tread the country of the blessed. Turn back, therefore, man, and tread the land given unto thee, and give not troubles unto thyself!'"]

In the light of the Greek text, I find it difficult to admit that the *garudi* bird of the Mongolian text (8r7) is the counterpart of the *τρία ὄρνεα* ("three birds") of the Greek text, because the "palm bird" (phoenix) and the "two birds" of which the

"faces were like the face of a man" appear in separate and distinct episodes in the Syriac version of the Alexander Romance. As for the "'palm bird' (phoenix)," I have already made reference to it above. As for the "two birds"—not "three," as in the Greek text—cf. Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 101, where the episode in which they appear is none other than that in "Lib. II, 40" of the Greek text (Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91). For the same episode in the Ethiopic version cf. Budge, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-159.

That the words of the *garudī* bird in the Mongolian version, fragmentary though they be, serve to dissuade Sulqarnai from his quest of immortality on Mount Sumur is evident from the general tenor of the passage. This being so, it is obvious that the episode of the encounter with the "three birds" in the Greek text—"two" in the Syriac and Ethiopic versions—has been incorporated into the Mongolian version and fused with that part of the episode which ultimately is derived from that in which the encounter with the phoenix is related. Thus, in the Mongolian version, the episode of the ascent upon Mount Sumur consists, in reality, of, at least, three originally independent episodes which have been fused with the transposition of thematic patterns and the omission of a number of thematic elements.

Professor Poppe²⁵ has also drawn attention to the Persian and Arabic versions of the Alexander Romance in connection with the ascent upon Mount Sumur and the encounter with the *garudī* bird in the Mongolian version. For the Persian version he refers to the corresponding episode in the *Šāhnāma* by Firdausī²⁶ and for the Arabic to that in the unpublished biography of Alexander by 'Umāra. Cf. Dr. I. Friedlaender, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*,²⁷ pp. 129-162, where we read (p. 146): "Endlich gelangt er an den Weltberg Qāf⁴, den ein Engel in seiner Hand hält."²⁸ Cf. also Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157, for the encounter with the bird.

Of the four episodes which are found in the Mongolian version of the Romance, the second, perhaps, is the most fascinating, for it is an account of Sulqarnai's descent to the bottom of the sea in a contraption which Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, p. 286, n. 1, has called "his wonderful diving-bell."

As remarked by Professor Poppe, “Die Erzählung vom Abstieg auf den Meeresgrund entspricht ebenfalls einer Episode bei Pseudo-Kallisthenes.”²⁹ It must be observed, however, that the Mongolian version of the episode also contains elements not found in the Greek text (“Lib. II, 38”) which reads as follows (Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 89a-b):

[ΚΕΦ. ΑΗ΄.]

Ἐκείθεν οὖν ἀναλαβὼν δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἔρημον ὤδευσεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, μηκέτι μηδὲν ὁρῶν μήτε πετεινὸν μήτε θηρίον, εἰ μὴ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Τὸν δὲ ἥλιον (1) οὐκέτι ἐθεώρουν, ἀλλὰ μαῦρον τὸν ἀέρα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δέκα· ἔλθων δὲ εἰς τινα τόπον παραθαλάσσιον, καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἐκείθεν καὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν κελεύσας παγῆναι, ἀνῆλθεν σὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς πλοῖαρια, καὶ κατέπλευσαν εἰς τινα νῆσον τῆς θαλάσσης, οὐ μακρὰν δὲ οὖσαν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἐν ᾗ ἦκουον λαλίας ἀνθρώπων Ἑλληνικῇ διαλέκτῳ λαλούντων· τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους τοὺς λαλοῦντας οὐδεὶς ἑώρα. Τινὲς δὲ στρατιῶται παραβουλευσάμενοι κολύμβῳ διῆλθον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοιαρίου εἰς τὴν νῆσον τοῦ ἱστορήσαι αὐτὴν, καὶ εὐθέως καρκίνοι ἐξελθόντες εἵλκυσαν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ. Φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑποστραφῆναι εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐκέλευσεν. Ἐξελθόντες δὲ (2) τῶν πλοίων, ἔνθεν περιπατῶν Ἀλέξανδρος παρὰ τὴν ὀχθὴν τῆς θαλάσσης εὔρε καρκίνον ἐξελθόντα εἰς τὴν ξηρὰν τὸ μέγεθος μέγα σφόδρα. Οἱ δὲ ἐμπρόσθιοι πόδες οἱ λεγόμενοι δῆχηλοι ἐκλύοντο. Ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ βιάλλοντες δόρασιν, ἀνείλον αὐτὸν μετὰ βίου (3)· σιδήρος γὰρ οὐκ εἰσῆρχετο ἐν τῷ ὀστράκῳ αὐτοῦ· τοῖς γὰρ ἐμπροσθίοις ποσὶ συνέτριβε τὰ δόρατα αὐτῶν. Ἀνελόντες δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναπτύξαντες εὗρον ἐν αὐτῷ μαργαρίτας ἑπτὰ μεγάλης τιμῆς ἀξίους· οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοιούτους μαργαρίτας πώποτε ἐθέασατο. Τούτους ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπέλαβεν ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀπλεύστου θαλάσσης βυθῷ αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι, ὅθεν ὑπενόησεν κλωβὸν (4) σιδηροῦν γενέσθαι μέγαν, ἔσθωθεν δὲ τοῦ κλωβοῦ εἰσενεχθῆναι παμμεγέθη ἕλινον πίθον, ἔχοντα τὸ πάχος σπιθαμῇ μίαν. Ἐκέλευσεν οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ πυθμένι τοῦ πίθου γενέσθαι τρυμαλιὰν (5) ὡς χωρεῖν ἀνθρώπου χεῖρα. Βουλόμενος δὲ κατελθεῖν καὶ μαθεῖν τί ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἔχει (6) κεκλεισμένην τὴν τρυμαλιὰν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῷ πυθμένι ἔσθωθεν, ὅπως κατελθόντος αὐτοῦ [δυνηθείη] εὐθέως ἀνοίξας καὶ ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα διὰ τῆς τρυμαλιᾶς καὶ εὐθέως λαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρακειμένης ψάμμου τὸ εὔρεθὲν ἐν τῷ πυθμένι τῆς τοιαύτης θαλάσσης, καὶ πάλιν εἰσενεγχεῖν τὴν χεῖρα καὶ φράξει τὴν τρυμαλιὰν. Ὁ καὶ πεποιόικεν. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ γενέσθαι ἄλλωσιν (7) ὥσπερ πηχῶν διακοσίων ἢ ὀργυῶν, καὶ προσέταξε ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀνεγκύσει αὐτὸν, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον ἢ ἄλλωσις ταραχθῇ· (ἵνα ὅταν κατέλθῃ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ πυθμένι τῆς θαλάσσης, εὐθέως ταραξῇ τὸν κλωβόν, καὶ τότε οὗτοι ἀνάγωσιν αὐτόν.) Μετὰ γοῦν τὸ κατασκευασθῆναι πάντα, εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ ὑέλῳ πίθῳ μετὰ τοῦ κλωβοῦ βουλόμενος ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀδυνατίους· εἰσελθὼν δὲ, διὰ μολύβου ἐκλείσθη ἢ εἰσοδος. Καὶ κατελθὼν πῆχεις ἑκατὸν ἑκοσίαι, ἰχθύς μέγας διῆλθε καὶ τῇ κέρκῳ αὐτοῦ κρούσας τὸν κλωβόν, ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν ἄλλωσιν ταραχθῆναι. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος προσέταξε πάλιν καταγαγεῖν αὐτόν. Καὶ αὕτις τὸ αὐτὸ ἐγένετο. Τρίτον οὖν καταβὰς ὥσπερ πῆχεις διακοσίας, ἐβλεπεν διὰ τοῦ ὑέλου περικυκλοῦντα αὐτὸν πλήθη ἰχθύων· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔλθων παμμεγεθέστατος (8) ἰχθύς ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ κλωβῷ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν μακρόθεν τῶν πλοιαρίων μιλίου ἐνός. Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ κατάρχοντες αὐτὸν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα· καὶ πάντας

εἵλκυσεν ὁ ἰχθὺς σὺν τοῖς τέσσαρσι πλοιαρίοις. Φθάσας δὲ σὺν τῷ κλωβῷ ἐν τῇ ξηρᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὁδοῦσι τὸν κλωβὸν ἀποτινάξας ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ξηράν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμίπνους ὅλος καὶ σύντρομος ἐξελθὼν καὶ νεκρωμένος ἐκ τοῦ φόβου αὐτοῦ, ἡγχαρίσθη τῇ ἄνω προνοίᾳ τῇ φυλαξάσῃ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ θηρὸς ἐκείνου· ὁμῶς εἶπε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν· «Ἀπόσχου, Ἀλέξανδρε, ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειρεῖν, μήπως ἐρευνῶν ἀνιχνεύτοις βυθοῖς καὶ τοῦ ζῆν στερηθῇς.» Καὶ εὐθέως προσέταξε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκείθεν ἀπάραι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν πορεύεσθαι.

Cap. XXXVIII. 1. οὐρανὸν B; et mox μελανόν pro μαυρόν· || 2. Quae sequuntur inde ab ἐξελθόντες δὲ usque ad finem hujus capituli non habet cod. B, qui pergit verbis: καὶ πάλιν ἤλθομεν διὰ δύο ἡμερῶν εἰς τόπους ὅπου ὁ ἥλιος οὐ λάμπει etc. (v. cap. 39 init.). || 3. sic cod.; conj. βίας, quamvis ne hoc quidem genuinum sit. || 4. κλοῦβον cod.; corr. Berger de Xivrey in Notices et Extr. des Manusc. tom. XIII, p. 185, ubi locum hunc exscriptum habes. || 5. τριμαλιὰν cod.; corr. Berger. || 6. ἔχειν δὲ cod. || 7. ἄλυσσον cod. || 8. παμμεγέθεστος cod.

For a German translation of this episode cf. Dr. Heinrich Weismann, *Alexander, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts, vom Pfaffen Lamprecht. Urtext und Uebersetzung nebst geschichtlichen und sprachlichen Erläuterungen, sowie der vollständigen Uebersetzung des Pseudo-Kallisthenes und umfassenden Auszügen aus dem lateinischen, französischen, englischen, persischen und türkischen Alexanderliedern. Zweiter Band. Uebersetzung des Pseudo-Kallisthenes nebst den Auszügen*,³⁰ pp. 130-132. For résumés of the episode cf. Julius Zacher, *Pseudocallisthenes: Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der ältesten Aufzeichnung der Alexandersage*,³¹ p. 140; Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, p. 283, n. 2, and p. 284, n. 1; Adolf Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman*,³² p. 83; and Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Inasmuch as there appears to be no English translation of the episode, I offer the following which, in some respects, is closer to the Greek text than that by Weismann:

[Chap(ter) 38]

From there,³³ then, departing,³⁴ Alexander traveled over a wasteland toward the sea,³⁵ seeing nothing more, neither bird nor beast, except³⁶ Heaven and Earth. And the sun³⁷ saw they no more, but [saw only] the dark³⁸ air for ten days. And being come unto a certain place beside the sea and having bid to pitch the tents there and the camp, he went up with the soldiers into boats, and they sailed to a certain island of the sea, being not far away from the land, in which they heard the talkings of men talking in Hellenic language. But none saw the men—the [ones who were] talking. But certain soldiers,

having ventured ³⁹ by swimming, came through from the boat to the island to inquire of it and straightway ⁴⁰ crabs, being come out, drew them into the water. Being affrighted, then, Alexander bid to return to the land. And [they] being come out ⁴¹ of the ships, Alexander, walking thence along the shore of the sea, discovered a crab being come out to dry land, the size [of which was] exceedingly great. And the forefeet—the [ones] called pincers—were opening. And the soldiers, beholding him and smiting [him] with spears, slew him with might.⁴² For the iron entered not in his shell. For with the forefeet he shivered their spears. And having slain him and having opened [him] up, they discovered in him seven pearls worth great price. For none of men had ever yet seen such pearls. Beholding these, Alexander believed them to be produced in the depth of the unnavigated sea, whence ⁴³ he conceived the thought of ⁴⁴ having a big iron cage ⁴⁵ made and within the cage an immense glass wine-jar brought in, having one span in thickness. Then Alexander bid to be made in the bottom of the jar a hole ⁴⁶ [such] as to accommodate the hand of a man. And [one] being minded to descend and to learn what is in the sea, holds ⁴⁷ closed the hole—the [one] being in the bottom-inside, in such manner as, upon his descending, [he might be able], straightway having opened [it], also to put out his hand through the hole and straightway to take from the sand [there] lying that which was discovered in the bottom of such a sea, and to draw his hand back in and to secure the hole. And so he did. And he bid to be made a chain ⁴⁸ of about two hundred cubits or fathoms and he commanded that no one should draw him up, if the chain were not first stirred. (That whenever Alexander descended in the bottom of the sea, straightway he would stir the cage, and then these would raise him up.) After, then, preparing everything, Alexander entered in the glass wine-jar within the cage, being minded to put his hand to things impossible. And [Alexander] being entered, the entrance was closed with lead. And [Alexander] being descended a hundred and twenty cubits, a great fish came through and, [the fish] having smitten the cage with his tail, they raised him up because the chain was stirred. And Alexander commanded to send him down again. And again the same thing happened. [A] third [time], therefore, being descended about two hundred cubits, he saw through the glass a throng of fishes encompassing him. And, behold, the most immense ⁴⁹ fish, being come, took him with the cage in his mouth and raised him up upon the land one mile away from the boats. And those sending him down were a hundred and fifty [in number]. And the fish drew [them] all with the four boats. Being arrived with the cage in the dry land and having shaken off the cage with the teeth, he cast it upon the dry land. And the king Alexander half-alive, whole, and trembling, being gone out and dead from his fear,⁵⁰ gave thanks to Providence above which had kept him from that evil beast. Likewise he said unto himself, “Refrain, Alexander, from putting the hand to things impossible, lest, perchance, seeking in untracked depths, thou be deprived also of [thy] life.”⁵¹ And straightway he commanded the army to depart from there and to march toward the parts ahead.

As remarked by Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, p. 283, n. 2: “According to the Greek (Müller, p. 89,

col. 1) Alexander's chief object in constructing this ark was for pearl fishing: . . .” Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 7, n. 5, further observed: “Der Sachverhalt ist hier anscheinend verdunkelt. Als Beweggrund figuriert hier Perlenfischerei, während er in Wahrheit Wißbegierde ist, vgl. unten S. 22 f.”

Among the thematic elements in the Greek text the following are immediately identifiable with their counterparts in the Mongolian text: the *θάλασσα* (“sea”) is the *dalai mören* (“ocean sea”) (8v6), the *παμμεγέθη ὑέλινον πίθον* (“immense glass wine-jar”) is the *qaraba* (9r2), the *ἄλυσιν ὥσει πηχῶν διακοσίων ἡ ὀργυῶν* (“chain of about two hundred cubits or fathoms”) is the *tabun mingγan mod d[ayustal]-a kürküi <to> toy-a tomsi deges[ün]* (“ropes incalculable which would attain unto [the point of] exhausting five thousand *mod*”) (9r4), *διὰ μολύβδον ἐκλείσθη ἡ εἴσοδος* (“the entrance was closed with lead”) is *güri batuda uyažu büir[ün]* (“when he was tying a stone firmly”) (9r7), *ἐν τῷ πυθμένι τῆς τοιαύτης θαλάσσης* (“in the bottom of such a sea”) is *dalai mören-ü iruγar[-tur]* (“[to] the bottom of the ocean sea”) (9v1), and *ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν ἄλυσιν παραχθῆναι* (“they raised him up because the chain was stirred”) is *olasun degesün ködelgežü* (“causing the hempen rope to move”) (9v9).

Turning to Leo's Latin version of the Romance, we find that only the encounter with the *carcyni* (“crabs”) is related. Cf. Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 111:

IX. Venimus in fines Oceani maris, in quo sunt cardines caeli. Audivimus in ipso mari loquentes homines linguam Grecam. Quidam vero ex militibus nostris exuentes se vestimentis suis voluerunt ingredi per mare ad ipsam insulam. Surgentes besti[a]e, quae vocantur carcyni et apprehenderunt viginti milites et submerserunt eos in profundo maris.

[We came to the ends of the Ocean sea, in which are the hinges of Heaven. We heard in the ⁵² sea men speaking the Greek language. Certain ones, in truth, of our soldiers, divesting themselves of their garments, wished to proceed through the sea to the island. Beasts arising, which are called *carcyni* (“crabs”), ⁵³ and ⁵⁴ seized twenty soldiers and submerged them in the depth of the sea.]

In the Syriac version the *καρκίνοι* (“crabs”) have become “beasts in the form of men.” Otherwise, the encounter, as related,

essentially is the same as that in the Greek original and in Leo's Latin version. Cf. Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 100. The rest of the episode, including the descent to the bottom of the sea, is not to be found in the Syriac version.

In the Ethiopic version, however, we find not only the counterpart of the encounter with the crabs, namely that of the encounter with "beasts which were like unto men, only they were much larger than men and they resembled camels," but also the counterpart of the rest of the episode, including the descent to the bottom of the sea, but with additional thematic patterns which do not appear in the Greek original. Cf. Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 154 and pp. 280-286. Inasmuch as the relation of the encounter with "beasts which were like unto men" (Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 154) is completely disengaged from the rest of the episode concerning the descent to the bottom of the sea (Budge, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-286), it is clear that the encounter with the *καρκίνου* ("crabs") in the Greek original, if not already constituting an independent episode in some recensions of the Greek text, obviously constitutes one in the relation of the encounter with the *carcyni* ("crabs") in Leo's Latin version, with the "beasts in the form of men" in the Syriac version, and the "beasts which were like unto men" in the Ethiopic version. In view of the independent status which this relation acquired through its disengagement from the relation of the descent to the bottom of the sea, without in any manner impairing the effectiveness of the latter, its omission from the Mongolian version is not at all surprising. In fact, the omission merely serves to confirm the fact that the relation had acquired independent status as an episode in itself.

In comparing the Mongolian version of the relation of the descent to the bottom of the sea with its prototype in the Greek text, however, we are struck by the fact that it contains elements which are not found in the Greek text. Thus, for example, we read (9r2-3): *qoyar kümün baytaqui-in tedüi qaraba agüdkе[3] güл[b]е* ("he caused [one] to build a *qaraba* the size of [one big enough] to hold two persons"). Again, we read (9r6): *job idegen künesün tegejü* ("loading food and provisions in sufficient quantity"). In the Ethiopic version to which Professor Poppe, how-

ever, has drawn attention ⁵⁵ we read, in Budge's translation, *op. cit.*, p. 282:

... Then he went into a cage of glass which was covered with asses' skins, and which had an opening that was closed with chains and rings, and he took with him such food as was needful, and placed it therein, and he took two of his friends with him.

Of even more significance, however, is the fact that in the Mongolian episode of this singular adventure, Sulqarnai encounters someone at the bottom of the sea. That Professor Poppe does not refer to the encounter in his synopsis of the episode,⁵⁶ is owing, I presume, to the exceedingly fragmentary state of the text at the very juncture at which the encounter takes place. I have provisionally read (?) *alči* (= *elči*)⁵⁷ (9v4) ("messenger") the word used in reference to the person whom Sulqarnai encounters. If this reading is correct, the word *alči* (= *elči*) is the exact counterpart of the word for "angel" in the Ethiopic version. Cf. Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

In the Ethiopic version the episode in question consists of several parts which Budge captioned as follows: (1) "Alexander prays that he may see the Ocean" (*op. cit.*, p. 280), (2) "God grants this request" (*op. cit.*, p. 281), (3) "Alexander takes ships and sets out" (*op. cit.*, p. 281), (4) "Three eagles sent forth" (*op. cit.*, pp. 281-282), (5) "Alexander descends into the sea in a glass cage" (*op. cit.*, p. 282), (6) "Alexander converses with the angel of the sea" (*op. cit.*, pp. 282-284), (7) "The angel shews him the wonders of the deep" (*op. cit.*, pp. 284-285), (8) "Alexander's dispute with the angel" (*op. cit.*, p. 285), (9) "A mighty monster of the deep" (*op. cit.*, pp. 285-286), and (10) "Alexander returns to his ship" (*op. cit.*, p. 286).

Of these several parts in the Ethiopic version of the episode, only the fifth, sixth, and tenth occur, more or less, as such in the Mongolian version. From this it is clear that the episode in the Mongolian version, although differing from the Greek text in the particulars mentioned above, while incorporating parts of the episode found in the Ethiopic version, is, in itself, a substantial abridgment of the episode as found in both the Greek and Ethiopic texts of the Alexander Romance.

Further evidence that the Mongolian version of the episode is substantially abridged may be gleaned from the unpublished Persian version by the Indo-Persian poet Abū-l-Ḥasan X (u) srāū ibn Maḥmūd Dixlavi (1253-1325), commonly called Amīr X (u) srāū, of which, as noted by Professor Poppe,⁵⁸ a synopsis was given by E. E. Bertel's, Роман об Александре [*Romance about Alexander*],⁵⁹ pp. 77-100 § 7, from a manuscript in the possession of the Uzbek State Public Library in Tashkent.

On page 93 Bertel's remarked:

Переходя к Искендеру, поэт рассказывает, что, объехав всю землю, шах пожелал совершить путешествие по морям. На берегу западного моря (даръёи магриб) для него разбивают большой шатер. Он собирает там своих вельмож и держит к ним речь. Когда он сообщает о своем намерении совершить морское путешествие, они пытаются отговорить его. Но Искендер не желает отказываться от раз принятого решения. Строят корабль, а также изготовляют большой продолговатый стеклянный ящик, в котором Искендер хочет спуститься на морское дно. Он вызывает опытных мореходов и задает им вопрос, сколько времени можно пробить под водой. Старый водолаз дает ответ, что дольше одного мига выдержать нельзя. Подвозят запасы на сорок лет и грузят их на корабль. Берут также вестовых птиц, среди которых черный орел, пролетающий годовой путь корабля в один день.

[Reverting to Iskender, the poet relates that, having gone round the whole world, the shah wished to make a voyage on the seas. On the shore of the western sea (*dar'ei magrib*) they pitch for him a big tent. He assembles there his grandees and addresses them. When he communicates about his intention to make a sea voyage, they try to dissuade him. But Iskender does not wish to desist from a decision once taken. They build a ship, and also fabricate a big, elongated glass box in which Iskender wants to descend to the sea bottom. He summons experienced sailors and poses to them the question how long a time it is possible to stay under the water. An old diver gives the answer that it is impossible to hold out longer than one wink. They bring up provisions for forty years and load them on the ship. They also take carrier birds, among which [is] a black eagle, flying a year's voyage of a ship in one day.]

On page 94 Bertel's further remarked:

Через четыре года Искендер отправляет второго орла, еще через три — третьего. Путники попадают, наконец, в такое место моря, откуда дальше плыть уже нельзя. Путники в ужасе, но является небесный вестник Суруш и оказывает им

помощь. Искендер спускается в стеклянном ящике на дно моря. Спуск продолжается сто дней. Снова появляется Суруш и показывает ему чудеса моря: акул, черепах, морских людей, у которых красные лица, большие бороды, но волос на голове нет. Они упрекают Искендера в алчности и желании нарушить их покой. Затем Искендер видит огромных чудищ. Одно было столь велико, что шло мимо его ящика четырнадцать дней. От страха при виде этого чудища Искендер заболевает. Суруш предупреждает его, что жизнь его пришла к концу, и помогает подняться на поверхность моря. Он обещает путникам, что весь обратный путь они проделают в одну ночь. Поэт сообщает, что Искендеру была обещана вечная жизнь. Но он отказался, так как жизнь без друзей все равно была бы ему в тягость. Возвращение, действительно, совершается мгновенно.

[After four years Iskender dispatches a second eagle, after three more, a third. The voyagers finally happen upon such a place of the sea whence it is impossible to sail any farther. The voyagers [are] in terror, but there appears the heavenly messenger Suruš and he lends them aid. Iskender descends in the glass box to the bottom of the sea. The descent lasts a hundred days. Anew, Suruš appears and shows to him the wonders of the sea: sharks, tortoises, sea people, who have red faces, big beards, but they have no hair on the head. They reproach Iskender for his greediness and desire to disturb their peace. Thereupon, Iskender sees immense monsters. One was so big that he went past his box fourteen days. Out of fear at the sight of this monster Iskender falls ill. Suruš forewarns him that his life has come to an end and helps [him] to ascend to the surface of the sea. He promises to the voyagers that they shall make the whole return voyage in one night. The poet communicates that eternal life was promised to Iskender. But he renounced [it], inasmuch as life without friends would be a charge upon him under any circumstances. The return, actually, is accomplished in a twinkling.]

The mention of the promise of eternal life and Iskender's renunciation thereof suggests the intrusion into this episode of an element of the third in the Mongolian version, with which we shall deal below.

Before leaving the episode of the descent to the bottom of the sea, we should not fail to cite Friedlaender's synopsis of the corresponding episode in the Arabic version by 'Umāra (*op. cit.*, pp. 158-159), where we read (p. 158):

... Er zieht jedoch weiter, bis er an „das die Welt umgebende, stockfinstere, stürmische Meer“⁴ gelangt. Alexander gibt zunächst Gott Lob und Dank für die Möglichkeit, nun auch die Meereswunder in Augenschein zu nehmen.⁵ Hierauf stellt sich ein Engel ein, der ihm seine Hilfe anbietet. Nachdem

er Chadhir mit der Führung der Heeres betraut und ihn angewiesen hat, ein Jahr lang⁶ auf ihn zu warten, segelt Alexander auf einem besonders für diesen Zweck gebauten Schiffe, mit drei Adlern und einem Glaskasten versehen, aufs Meer hinaus. Nach einer sechsmonatlichen Fahrt macht er Halt und, nachdem er durch die Adler die große Entfernung vom Lande festgestellt hat, läßt er sich in einem Glaskasten⁷ in die Tiefe hinunter, wobei ihm der Engel als Wegweiser dient.⁶⁰

Although the episode of the descent to the land of darkness—the third of the four episodes in the Mongolian version of the Alexander Romance—bears some resemblance to the prototype in the Greek text, it clearly has elements which not only are not found in the Greek text but, in fact, seem not to occur in other versions of the Romance. In the Mongolian version Sulqarnai, accompanied by his *nöked*, descends to the land of darkness by setting with Mother Sun (Naran Eke). Insofar as I am now able to determine, the Mongolian is the only version of the Romance in which Alexander and his companions reach the land of darkness in this singular manner. In the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* “Lib. II, 39” (Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90) we read (p. 89): *Καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἦλθεν εἰς τόπους ὅπου ὁ ἥλιος οὐκ ἔλαμπεν. Ἐκεῖ οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ καλουμένη μακάρων χώρα.* [“And after three days he came to places where the sun shone not. There, then, is the so-called land of the blessed.”] It is well, therefore, to observe, at the outset, that the whole episode of the descent to the land of darkness, inextricably entangled with the relation of the quest of the water of immortality, is one of the most difficult episodes of the Alexander Romance to analyze. Fortunately, Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, published in his “Indices” (pp. 326-338) an invaluable “Verzeichnis der Varianten der Lebensquellsage” (pp. 326-331) as well as a “Nachspiel zur Lebensquellsage” (pp. 331-332) which immeasurably facilitate the comparison of this episode in the Mongolian version with that in other versions of the Romance.

In the Mongolian version, upon entering the land of darkness, Sulqarnai encounters someone who converses with him, but, because of the deplorable state of the text at this juncture, what is said is partially incomprehensible. For this reason, one is reduced to speculation insofar as the identity of the speaker is concerned. It is possible that it is someone comparable to “Mâ-

tûn, that is to say El-Khidr," in the Ethiopic version. Cf. Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 269. Then, again, it may be a being comparable to the angel "to whose care was entrusted the Well of the Water of Life" in the same version. Cf. Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 269. In the Greek text, it is a γέρων ("old man"), who, through the intervention of his two sons, gains the ear of Alexander and counsels him as follows (Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 90): «Ἐξεστί σοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ Ἀλέξανδρε, τοῦτο γινῶναι, ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἵπποι εἰσέλθωσιν, οὐκέτι τὸ φῶς ὄψει. Ἐπίλεξον οὖν ἵππους θηλείας ἐχούσας πῶλους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πῶλους ἔασον ἐνταῦθα, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰσελθόντες μετὰ τῶν θηλείων ἵππων, ἄξουσιν ἡμᾶς αὐταὶ ἐκείσει.» ["It is possible for thee, O king, Alexander, to know this, that, if, indeed, the horses enter, thou shalt see the light no more. Choose, therefore, female horses having foals, and leave the foals here and, we being entered with the female horses, they shall bring us thither."] This ingenious manner of assuring Alexander's return from the land of darkness is that incorporated centuries later in the famous account of the "Valley of Darkness" in *The Description of the World*; where it is reported in reference to the "Tartars." Cf. A. C. Moule & Paul Pelliot, *Marco Polo, The Description of the World*,⁶¹ pp. 472-474. For the account in "A Discourse Composed by Mâr Jacob upon Alexander, the Believing King, and upon the Gate which he Made against Âgôg and Mâgôg" cf. Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*, p. 173.⁶²

The thematic pattern of the quest of the water of immortality varies from version to version of the Romance, that in the Mongolian differing in several essential respects from that in such versions as the Greek and the Ethiopic. Cf. Friedlaender's "Verzeichnis der Varianten der Lebensquellsage" (*op. cit.*, pp. 330-331). Among the distinctive features of the Mongolian version are the following: (1) A cup full of the water of immortality is given to Sulqarnai, before he leaves the land of darkness, by a person who does not reveal himself and who assures Sulqarnai that, after drinking the water, he will live for three thousand years; (2) upon leaving the land of darkness, Sulqarnai offers the water to his *nöked*, some of whom wish to drink it and others of whom do not; (3) a wise *noyan*, telling Sulqarnai that he will

weary of immortality, reminds him that his followers will die, and counsels him not to drink the water, unless he have no fear that he may later have cause to regret his action; (4) and, finally, heeding the counsel of the *noyan*, Sulqarnai pours out the water which falls upon the leaves of the cypress tree which, in consequence, is ever green.

It is only in the Persian version by Amīr X(u)srāu that we find a somewhat similar thematic pattern, insofar as can be determined from Bertel's synopsis (*op. cit.*, p. 94), where, as we have already seen above,⁶³ the promise of eternal life has become an integral part of the episode of the descent to the bottom of the sea:

. . . The poet communicates that eternal life was promised to Iskender. But he renounced [it], inasmuch as life without friends would be a charge upon him under any circumstances. The return, actually, is accomplished in a twinkling. . . .

Professor Poppe has further drawn attention to Firdausī's account of the quest of the water of immortality in the land of darkness as well as that by Nizāmī.⁶⁴ Cf., e. g., Dr. Fr. Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage bei den Orientalen. Nach den besten Quellen dargestellt*,⁶⁵ p. 29.

Conspicuously absent from the Mongolian version is a leading thematic element of the Greek and Ethiopic versions, the dried fish which comes to life when dipped in the water of the "translucent fount" (πηγή διαυγής) by Alexander's "cook" (μάγειρος), Andreas, as the Greek text has it (Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 90), or in the "Well of the Water of Life" by "Mâtûn, that is to say El-khidr," as the Ethiopic version has it (Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 268). The account in "Lib. II, 39" of the Greek text reads as follows (Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 90):

. . . Καὶ εἰσῆλθον μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρον τριακόσιοι ἐξήκοντα (6) στρατιῶται. Καὶ οὕτως εἰσερχόμενοι ὁδὸν σκοτεινὴν ἐπὶ σχοίνοισι δεκαπέντε, εἶδον τινα τόπον, καὶ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ πηγή διαυγής, ἥς τὸ ὕδωρ ἤστραπτεν ὡς ἀστραπή. ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀὴρ ἐκεῖνος εὐώδης καὶ πάνυ γλυκύτατος (7). Πρόσπεινος δὲ γενόμενος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤθελε γεύσασθαι ἄρτου, καὶ καλέσας τὸν μάγειρον αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι καλούμενον Ἀνδρέαν (8), εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἵνα εὐτρεπίσῃ προσφάγιον. Ὁ δὲ αὖτον τάριχον (9) λαβὼν ἐπορεύθη ἐπὶ τὸ διαυγὲς ὕδωρ τῆς πηγῆς ἐκπλῦναι τὸ ἔδεσμα. Καὶ εὐθέως βραχὲν (10) ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ἐψυχώθη καὶ ἐξέφυγε τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ μαγείρου

(11). Ὁ δὲ μάγειρος οὐδενὶ ἐδήλωσε τὸ γενόμενον. αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν (12) ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν σκεύει τινὶ ἀργυρέῳ ἐφύλαξεν. ἦν γὰρ πᾶς ὁ τόπος ἐκείνος βρώων ὕδατα, ἐξ ὧν πάντες ἐπιον καὶ ἔλαβον τροφῆς.

Cap. XXIX. . . . || 6. ἐξήντα cod. || 7. ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀγρ. . γλυκύτατος iterum om. B. || 8. nomen coqui om. B. || 9. ὠσάριχον C. τάριχον B. || 10. τὸ ἔδεσμα add. B. || 11. addit B: ἦσαν δὲ πάντες οἱ τόποι ἐκείνοι ἐννυγροί, quae paullo post significat C. || 12. haec om. B pergens: πάλιν οὖν ὀδεύσατες σχοῖνους λ' etc.

For Weismann's translation of this passage cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135. For résumés cf. Zacher, *op. cit.*, p. 140; Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, p. 268, n. 2; and especially Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

Inasmuch as there appears to be no English translation of the passage, I offer the following:

And there entered with Alexander 360⁶⁶ soldiers. And thus being entered upon a dark road for 15 *schoinoi*,⁶⁷ they saw a certain place, and there was in it a translucent fount,⁶⁸ of which the water lightened as lightning. And that air was sweet-smelling and altogether very sweet.⁶⁹ And, being become a-hungered, Alexander, the king, wished to taste of bread, and, having called his cook called Andreas⁷⁰ by name, he said unto him that he should make ready food.⁷¹ And he, having taken a dried fish,⁷² went to the translucent water of the fount to wash the food. And straightway, having been shaken⁷³ in the water, he (= the dried fish) was animated and escaped out of the hands of the cook.⁷⁴ And the cook revealed unto none that which had come to pass. But, himself having taken⁷⁵ of the self[same] water in a certain silver vessel, he kept [it]. For all that place was bursting forth with waters from which all drank and took nourishment.

In the Ethiopic version of the episode of the descent to the land of darkness one of Alexander's friends, "a certain man who was a general, and who was set over many men" (Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 263), El-khiḍr, also identified with Mâtûn, the sage (Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 267), leads the search for the "Well of Life" in a "place of darkness in the earth." The difference between the Ethiopic and Greek versions in the length and complexity of the treatment of the theme of the water of immortality can be gauged from Budge's captions in his translation of the episode from the Ethiopic: (1) "El-khiḍr" (*op. cit.*, pp. 263-264), (2) "Mâtûn the sage" (*op. cit.*, p. 264), (3) "The Well of Life" (*op. cit.*, pp. 264-265), (4) "Alexander sets out for the Well of Life" (*op. cit.*, p. 265), (5) "He finds a statue" (*op. cit.*, pp. 265-266),

(6) "Mâtûn the sage" (*op. cit.*, pp. 266-267), (7) "The king gives him a stone" (*op. cit.*, p. 267), (8) "The stone lights Mâtûn's way" (*op. cit.*, p. 268), (9) "A fish comes to life" (*op. cit.*, pp. 268-269), (10) "The Water of Life" (*op. cit.*, p. 269), (11) "Origin of the name El-khiḍr" (*op. cit.*, p. 269), (12) "The angel of the Well of Life" (*op. cit.*, pp. 269-270), (13) "Mâtûn asks forgiveness for Alexander's army" (*op. cit.*, pp. 270-271), (14) "Mâtûn and Alexander meet" (*op. cit.*, pp. 271-272), and (15) "The parable of the gem" (*op. cit.*, p. 272).

According to 'Umāra's account, as we gather from Friedlaender's synopsis (*op. cit.*, p. 158):

Dūl-qarnein dringt auf einem neuen Wege nach dem Westen und gelangt an die Stelle, wo die Sonne in einer schlammigen Quelle untergeht.² „Er drang sodann in die Finsternis ein³, um den Lebensquell zu finden. Doch trat er aus der Finsternis heraus, ohne ihn gefunden zu haben.“⁷⁶

In respect of 'Umāra's account Friedlaender is of the opinion (*op. cit.*, p. 161) that "Die Funktion der Quelle erhält eine theologisch vergeistigte Form." It is, further, his opinion that (*op. cit.*, p. 161, n. 8):

Die Quelle verleiht nicht nur Unsterblichkeit, sondern auch Freiheit von menschlichen Schwächen und Bedürfnissen und zugleich Allwissenheit (S. 146 ff.). Chadhir wird ein geistiges Wesen, geradezu ein Engel. Über Chadhir als Engel vgl. unten S. 274. Ob freilich diese Anschauung aus der Funktion der Quelle abzuleiten ist, ist fraglich.

As for the Syriac version of the episode, the account in "A Discourse Composed by Mār Jacob upon Alexander" is much closer to the Greek prototype than is the account in the Ethiopic version. The "fountain of water" (also called the "fountain of the water of life"), the "cook," and the "dry fish" (also called the "salt fish") are some of the salient thematic elements of the "quest in the Land of Darkness." Cf. Budge, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-175, ll. 150-207.

In the fourth and final episode of the Mongolian version, the return to the land of Misir, the testamentary charge is the paramount feature. While it is comparable in a general way to the "Διαθήκη Ἀλεξάνδρου" ["Testament of Alexander"] in the *Pseudo-*

Callisthenes, "Lib. III, 33" (Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-150), the "Testament" in the Syriac version (Budge, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-141, XXII), the "Testament" in the Ethiopic version (Budge, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-349), and the "Testamentum" in Leo's Latin version (Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 124), it bears little resemblance in any specific way to the wording of Alexander's testament in any of these versions.

In the testamentary charge there is one command, however, of which the exact counterpart is found in the Persian version by Amīr X (u) srāū. I refer to the words: *γar minu ile ba ayuludqun*. "And cause [ye] my hands to be exposed." The similarity between the Mongolian text and the Persian in this respect was first noted by Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 123:

. . . Denselben Befehl finden wir im Vermächtnis Alexanders in den persischen Versionen der Alexandersage, z. B. bei Amīr Husrau, in dessen Werk Iskandar den Befehl erteilt, man solle ihn so bestatten, daß seine beiden Hände aus Sarge hervorragen, s. BERTELS, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

Bertel's *op. cit.*, p. 94, summarized the episode as follows:

. . . Искендер чувствует приближение смерти и отдает три приказа: престол передать Искендерусу, похоронить его так, чтобы обе руки были высунуты из гроба, и предать тело земле в Александрии. Вводится отступление с указанием на разногласия историков по поводу места смерти Искендера. По мнению одних, он родился в Руме, а умер в Сирии, по другим,—умер в Вавилоне, а хоронили его в Дамiette.

[. . . Iskender feels the approach of death and gives three commands: to transmit the throne to Iskenderus, to bury him so that *both hands* be thrust out from the coffin, and to commit the body to the earth in Alexandria. There is introduced a digression with an indication of the disagreement of historians on the matter of the place of the death of Iskender. In the opinion of some, he was born in Rum and died in Syria, according to others,—he died in Babylon, but they buried him in Damietta.]

For other references to Persian versions cf. Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

While it is virtually impossible to determine the immediate source of the Mongolian version of the Alexander Romance from a preliminary analysis of the thematic patterns of its four episodes, certainly there are features such as the name *Qurasan* (< Persian

X(u) rāsān) (“Khorasan”),⁷⁷ the name *Misir* (< Arabic *Misr*) (“Alexandria”),⁷⁸ the name *Sulqarnai* (< *Dūl-qarnain*) (“The Two-Horned”),⁷⁹ the name *Sumur tay* (< Turkish) (“Mount Sumur [< Sanskrit *Sumeru*]”),⁸⁰ the word *garudi* (< Turkish) (“phoenix” [< Sanskrit *garuḍa*]),⁸¹ the word *qaraba* (< Persian [< Arabic] *qarāba*) (“a large flagon or vessel having two handles and a spout (made of glass, in which wine is left standing forty days in order to refine)”),⁸² the words *yeke tenggis-i* (“the great sea”),⁸³ the words *tenggisiin iruγ[ar-i]* (“the bottom of the sea”),⁸⁴ and the words *γar minu ile ba ayuludqun* (“And cause [ye] my hands to be exposed.”),⁸⁵ to mention but a few examples, which strongly suggest a Middle-Eastern, if not a Central Asian, source. However, until the Arabic version by ‘Umāra and the Persian version by Amīr *X(u) srāu* have been published, it seems somewhat premature to speculate as to their immediacy as sources of the Mongolian version. Although no early Turkish version of the Romance has as yet come to light,⁸⁶ the occurrence of Turkish vocabulary in the Mongolian version suggests that there may have been such a version and, indeed, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that, incorporating elements of the Arabic and Persian versions, it was the immediate source of the Mongolian version.

In this connection, the questions posed by Professor Damdin-süren are especially pertinent: “Was this work translated from another language? [Was it] composed in the Mongolian language?”⁸⁷ While it also seems premature to attempt to answer these questions, I am tentatively inclined to the view that the Mongolian version is a translation from a Turkish version. The fact that there is a relatively high incidence of Turkish vocabulary in the Mongolian version and the fact that the Mongolian version is found in a book consisting, for the most part, of Turkish texts—prose and verse—in my opinion, seem to indicate that it not only originates in a Turkish environment, but is a direct translation from a Turkish version or, at least, is an adaptation of one.

The very existence of such a Mongolian version suggests still other subjects of eventual inquiry. Of these, the possible role

played by a Mongolian version not only in the transmission and dissemination of elements of the Romance on Mongolian soil, but also elsewhere in Asia, particularly, in China, conceivably could yield significant findings. Paul Pelliot, "Les Anciens rapports entre l'Égypte et l'Extrême Orient," *Compte Rendu du Congrès International de Géographie*, Le Caire, 1925, tome V, pp. 21-22, remarked (p. 21):

Les conquêtes arabes des VII^e et VIII^e siècles, unifiant en un nouvel empire l'Asie occidentale, firent oublier aux Chinois l'Égypte proprement dite, [22] à titre de royaume indépendant. Néanmoins les ouvrages géographiques chinois du début du XII^e siècle connaissent le grand fleuve du pays de Misr, et ils ont recueilli la tradition du phare d'Alexandrie construit selon eux par Zul-Qarnain, c'est-à-dire par Alexander le Grand "à Deux Cornes" ainsi que la légende bien connue du miroir merveilleux qui décelait à l'avance l'approche des flottes ennemies et qui fut détruit par trahison.

Behind Paul Pelliot's remarks there is the nucleus of a literature which would require careful scrutiny, were such a subject of inquiry to be pursued. The literature includes such publications as Friedrich Hirth, "Die Länder des Islâm nach chinesischen Quellen," *Supplément au Volume V du „T'oung-pao"*,⁸⁸ pp. 1-57; Dr. M. J. De Goeje, Professor des Arabischen an der Reichsuniversität zu Leiden, "Bemerkungen zu Professor Hirth's "Die Länder des Islam", " *op. cit.*, pp. 58-64; and Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi, Translated from the Chinese and Annotated*.⁸⁹ While there can be little question as to the immediacy of Arabic sources for the relations by Chao Ju-kua 趙汝适⁹⁰ in his *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志⁹¹ (cf. Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-147 and 153), there is, it seems to me, the possibility of a Mongolian source for the account of "Sha-pi-ch'a kuo" 沙弼茶國 ["Country of Sha-pi-ch'a"] in the *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* 三才圖會,⁹² "Jen-wu shih-erh chüan" 人物十二卷 ["People, Chapter 12"], (ts'e 20) 21r-21v1-4, which reads as follows:

No one has ever gone to the country of Sha-pi-ch'a 沙弼茶⁹³ with the exception that anciently the sage Tsu-ko-ni 狙葛尼 (Dū'l-Qarnain)⁹⁴ went [there]. As a result, he established [a system of] writing.⁹⁵ The country is

tied to the region where the sun sets in the west. In the evening, when the sun sets, the sound [that it makes] is like [that of] thunder. The king of the country each [evening] gathers a thousand persons on the [city-]wall to blow horns, sound gongs, and beat drums to adulterate the sound of the sun.⁹⁶ Otherwise, then, the little children would die of fright.

Insofar as the transmission and dissemination of elements of the Alexander Romance on Mongolian soil as such are concerned, Paul Serruys, C. I. C. M., Université Catholique de Pékin, "Notes marginales sur le folklore des Mongols Ordos," *Han-hiue, Bulletin du Centre d'Études Sinologiques de Pékin* 3 (1948) .115-210, has already opened the way for further study of this question in his analysis of the Ordos legend "Le roi aux oreilles d'âne."⁹⁷ So interesting are the possibilities suggested by his analysis that I quote it *in extenso* (pp. 179-180):

Cette légende se combine encore avec un autre thème curieux: la légende du roi aux oreilles d'âne. Celui-ci fait tuer tous les coiffeurs qui ont vu ses oreilles. Ce thème n'est pas connu des Chinois, mais il a sa variante dans les contes sartes concernant la personne d'Alexandre le Grand. (Jungbauer, *Märchen* [180] aus Turkstan und Tibet, 1923, p. 196). Alexandre le Grand avait sur la tête une corne qu'il cachait soigneusement, et il tuait de sa propre main tous ceux qui lui avaient coupé les cheveux, de peur que ceux-ci ne divulguent son secret. Toute sa force résidait dans cette corne. Un jour un coiffeur le trompe, disant qu'il n'a pas vu de corne, et échappe ainsi à la mort. Il crie la chose dans un puits, l'écho répand ses paroles, et dans une révolte un homme coupe la corne à Alexandre. Jungbauer n'explique pas comment la légende de la corne d'Alexandre s'est formée au Turkestan, qui d'ailleurs possède un cycle très développé de légendes nées autour de la personne du grand conquérant.—

Dans le Siddi-Kür, texte mongol (Traduction de Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen-Sammlung*, Innsbrück, 1868, p. 162-7), l'histoire du roi aux oreilles d'âne est raconté [*sic*] de la même façon [*sic*] que dans le conte ordos à quelques différences près. Ici le passage du signal d'alarme donné abusivement, et la révolution ne sont pas mentionnés. Nous pouvons entrevoir ici comment le thème du signal d'alarme ajouté explique aussi la révolution contre le roi. Le coiffeur, après avoir divulgué le secret du roi, est pardonné parce qu'il peut trouver un moyen de cacher le défaut: une coiffure spéciale. Une certaine mode chinoise est ainsi expliquée. Mais c'est dans ce détail que nous croyons trouver la raison de la légende de la corne d'Alexandre. Comme les éléments des oreilles d'âne et de la coiffure spéciale se sont associés dans le Siddhi-Kür mongol, ne pourrait-on pas supposer que la légende d'Alexandre a du tirer son origine à cause d'une coiffure—p. ex. le grand casque—qui donnait l'impression de cacher une corne?

Description of the Text

The text of the Mongolian version of the Alexander Romance is, to put it mildly, in a deplorable state of preservation. It consists of seven folios or fourteen pages, beginning with 7r and ending with 13v, in a booklet consisting in all of seventeen folios or thirty-four pages. As stated by Dr. Schurmann,⁹⁸ "The book is bound in Near Eastern style, i. e., by a string and with backing, like European books. Each page measures roughly 14.5 by 18.5 cm."

Of the seven folios, the first constituting pages 7r and 7v is the most mutilated. Much of the lower half of the folio has been lost. The upper half from the center to the outer edge is perforated with eleven holes, three of which obliterate the beginning of line 8 on 7r and partially obliterate the beginning of line 3 on 7v. One, while falling between lines 7 and 8 on 7r, obliterates a word in line 4 on 7v. As for the rest, they do not materially affect the text on either side of the folio. Of the ten lines which comprise 7r only the first has been integrally preserved, while the last has been entirely lost except for traces of the left-hand tips of three or four letters. Of the twelve lines which comprise 7v only the last has been integrally preserved, while the first has been entirely lost except for traces of the right-hand tips of some letters of, at least, two words.

The second folio constituting pages 8r and 8v is in a better state of preservation with only approximately one third of the text on either side lost through mutilation. The major loss is that of a large triangular part of the folio, embracing the entire outer edge and most of the lower edge, with the hypotenuse cutting through lines 3 to 12 on 8r and 1 to 11 on 8v. This folio also is perforated with numerous holes, nine of which obliterate parts of the text to a greater or lesser degree. On 8r lines 3, 4, and 5, in particular, have been mutilated by holes and on 8v lines 9, 10, and 11, in particular, have been so mutilated.

The third folio constituting pages 9r to 9v, generally speaking, is in a still better state of preservation. As in the case of the second, a large triangular part of the text has been lost. However,

it is a triangle with shorter sides, one of which runs from a point slightly above the middle of the outer edge of the folio to the bottom and the other from a point which marks the end of the first quarter of the lower edge to the outer extremity. The hypotenuse cuts through lines 5 to 12 on 9r and 1 to 10 on 9v. The text is perforated with numerous holes, but with the exception of lines 3, 4, and 7 on 9r and 4, 7, and 10 on 9v they do not materially affect the text.

The fourth folio constituting pages 10r to 10v is in a state of preservation which is very similar to that of the third, for a triangular part of the text approximately equivalent in size to that of the third folio has been lost. Fortunately, the holes in the paper are fewer in number, only lines 4, 7, 8, and 9 on 10r and lines 1, 3, 4, and 6 on 10v being slightly mutilated.

The fifth folio constituting pages 11r to 11v is approximately three-fourths intact. Although only the inner quarter of the lower edge remains, nearly all the outer edge remains. There is, however, a jagged gap beginning at the end of line 5 on 11r and running to the end of line 12 with its deepest point of penetration halfway up line 9 and beginning at the end of line 1 on 11v and running to the end of line 9 with its deepest point of penetration halfway up the paper between lines 4 and 5. The folio is perforated with a few holes which do not materially affect the text. They occur in lines 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, and 12 on 11r and in only 3 and 6 on 11v.

The sixth folio constituting pages 12r to 12v is more than three-fourths intact. A jagged gap with a base which begins at the end of line 6 on 12r and runs to the end of line 11 and with its deepest point of penetration almost halfway up line 8 and with a base which begins at the end of line 3 on 12v and runs to the end of line 8 and with its deepest point of penetration almost halfway up line 5 constitutes the major part of the damage to this folio. There also are a few holes which contribute to the folio's mutilation, but the worst of these is that at the end of line 5 on 12r and at the end of line 9 on 12v.

Finally, the seventh folio constituting pages 13r to 13v, like the sixth, is more than three-fourths intact. The jagged gap with a

base which begins almost at the end of line 7 on 13r and runs to the end of line 11 and with its deepest point of penetration halfway up line 9 and with a base which begins at the end of line 3 on 13v and runs almost to the end of line 7 and with its deepest point of penetration halfway up the paper between lines 4 and 5 is almost identical in size and shape with that of the sixth folio. Although there are several holes, none materially affects the text on either side of the folio.

Punctuation and Orthography

The only mark of punctuation employed, albeit sparingly, in the text herein transcribed and translated is a little +, a mark which, to the best of my knowledge, is unattested in other Mongolian documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁹⁹ In six instances it occurs after *verba finita*: *büjügüi* (8r2), *γarba bi* (8v5), *kemeldübe* (11v9), *bülege* (13v2), *aǰuγu* (13v3), and *dayusba* (13v12). In one instance it occurs after a *converbum modale*: *kemen* (12r6), and in one instance after a *converbum praeprativum*: *sonosču būrūn* (8v7). It is, of course, more than probable that it occurred elsewhere in parts of the text, which have been destroyed.

Nowhere in the text is the letter *n*, initial, medial, or final, marked with a diacritic point. Furthermore, nowhere in the text is the *γ* distinguished from the *q* by the use of the two points which served to distinguish the velar gutturals.

As in the case of other Mongolian documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the text presents orthographies inherited from the Uighur writing: *ǰıγalngγı* for the *scriptio plena* *ǰıγalangγı* (12v7), *ǰrlγ* for *ǰarlıγ* (12v6 and 7v12), *kembe* for *kemebe* (8r7 ([*kembe*]), 11r11, 11v1 and 10, 12v8, and 13v8 and 12), *tngri* for *tengri* (7r6, 7v5 and 12, 9r10 ([*tngri-de*]), 10v1 and 2, 11r5, 11v7, and 13v1), and *tomγayulba* for *tomayayulba* (9r5).

Other orthographies, common to texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which a front vowel is written as a back vowel, are the following:

- (1) *a* for *e*: *abüged* for *ebüged* (13r9 ([*a*]büged) and 13v8 (*a*[*b*]üged)), *abügedi* for *ebügedi* (13r8 and 13v1), *ade* for *ede*

(10v7 and 8, 12r1, and 13v1), *adeneče* for *edeneče* (13v4), *adübe* for *edübe* (13v5), *adüge* for *edüge* (8v5, 10r1, 2, and 6, 10v12, 11r7, 12v3 and 4 (*adü[ge]*)), *agüdkke[3]gülb[e]* for *egüdkkegülb[e]* (9r2-3), *aγsan* (erratum pro *asen*) for *esen* (12r12), *ake* for *eke* (10r2 and 12v3), (?) *alči* for (?) *elči* (9v4), *ale* for *ele* (12v7 and 13r1), *ande* for *ende* (11r2), *andēče* for *endēče* (11r1), *ane* for *ene* (7r8, 7v3, 8r9, 8v3 and 10, 9r3, 9v4 and 8, 10r7, 10v4, 11r7, 10, and 11, 11v8, 12r3 and 5, 12v7 and 13, and 13r1), *anekü* for *enekü* (11v6), *argülüdkün* for *ergülüdkün* (13r4), *arte* for *erte* (7r1 and 9v3), *ase* for *ese* (10v10) and *as-e* for *es-e* (12r5), *atüige* for *etüige* (12v3), *aye* [10r] *ayetürün* for *eye eyetürün* (9v13-10r1), and *ayin* for *eyin* (12r5).

(2) *o* for *ö*: *job* for *jöb* (9r6 and 12v12), *mongke* for *möngke* (8r9, 11r2 and 9, and 12v12), and *ondür* for *ündür* in 8r9.

(3) *u* for *ü*: *jug* for *jüg* (10r7 and 12v11).

The use of *a* for *e*, *o* for *ö*, and *u* for *ü* in the first syllable does not imply a pronunciation which really existed, but is owing to a chancellery habit which, as remarked by Władysław Kotwicz,¹⁰⁰ reflects “d’anciens usages de l’écriture ouigoure.”

Other distinctive orthographical features of the text are the following:

1) *ai* for *ayi*: *aiqu* for *ayiqu* (12r6) and *aisu* for *ayisu* (9v2 and 7).

2) *ei* for *eyi*: *teimün* for *teyimün* (8v12) and *tein* for *teyin* (10v12).

3) *oi* for *oyi*: *qoina* for *qoyina* (7v6 and 12r7).

4) *-i* for *-yi*: *aqui-i* for *aqui-yi* (8r7).

5) *-in* for *-yin*: *-in* for *-yin* (7v12, 9r2, 3, and 6, 10r7, 11r4, 11v2 and 7, and 12v11).

Of phonological interest are the following orthographies:

1) *a* (> *o*) in the second syllable: *bolad* (> *bolod*) (9v5), *olasun* (> *olosun*) (9v9), *orabasu* (> *orobasu*) (9r1), *oražu* (> *orožu*) (9r5 and 7 and 10v1 (*or[a]žu*)), *oraqu* (> *oroqu*) (13r12 and 13v1), *orasu* (> *orosu*) (8v6 and 9), *qočarbasu* (> *qočorbasu*) (11v2), and *sonasču* (> *sonosču*) (10r2).

2) *e* (> *ö*) in the second syllable: *bökes* (> *bökös*) (13v5), *nöked* (> *nököd*) (10r1, 10v12, 11r10, 11r11 and 12, 11v5, and 12r2), *nöked-tü* (> *nököd-tü*) (10v1), *nökedtü* (> *nöködtü*) (7v11), *nö[ker]* (> *nökör*) (7v8 and 8r5), *törebei* (> *töröbei*) (12v4 and 13v5), *töreged* (> *töröged*) (13v2), *törei* (> **töröi*) (12r3), *töreji* (> *töröji*) (13r2), and *töremü* (> *töröümü*) (12v5 (*t[öremü]*) and 13v6).

In addition to the above-mentioned orthographies there are still others which are as follows:

- 1) *a*-zero: *balayasun* (~*balyasun*) (12v1).
- 2) *u*-zero: *joluyaju* (~*jolyaju*) (9v6).
- 3) *oo*~*o*: *toor* (~*tor*) (9r3).
- 4) *u*~*a*: *abdur-a* (~*abdar-a*) (9r5 and 6).
- 5) *ö*~*e*: *tögü[sbesü(?)]* (~*tegüsbesü*) (12v7) and *tögüsbesü* (~*tegüsbesü*) (11r1).

Anomalous orthographies are the following: *basud* for *busud* in 8v12 and *kegten* for *kebten* in 8v10.

Material Disposition of the Text

The material disposition of the text is the following:

Each page, with the exception of 7r, 9v, 12v, and 13r, comprises twelve lines. In the case of 7r there are only ten. In the case of 9v, 12v, and 13r there are thirteen. This slight inconstancy is attributable to a variation in the size of the handwriting. As the handwriting on 7r is big and bold, the page could accommodate but ten lines. As that on 7v, however, is considerably reduced in size, the page could accommodate twelve. In the case of pages 9v, 12v, and 13r, each with thirteen lines, although the handwriting is somewhat reduced in size, the pages, to judge by the reproductions, also are somewhat larger.

Every line of every page, with the exception of 10r, begins on approximately the same level, from line 1 of 7r (*beler arte*, etc.) to line 12 of 13v (*ajuyu kembe*, etc.). In the case of 10r, the word *nigen* ("one") is written in the margin at the head of line 2, presumably, because, through an inadvertance, it had been

omitted by the copyist and was added after its omission had been detected. It will be observed that it tilts slightly to the left, another indication that it was added later.

Page 13v presents a curious problem in that it is extremely difficult to decide at precisely what point the text ends.¹⁰¹ This is owing to the fact that someone, it would appear, utilized whatever blank space was available between the last line of the text and the right-hand margin to practice calligraphy. The tenth and twelfth lines are written in an unusually big and bold hand. The eleventh line—in Turkish, not Mongolian—obviously has no place in the text whatever.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

¹ For this name see "Notes to the Translation of the Text," pp. 63-64, n. 2.

² For this name see "Notes to the Translation of the Text," pp. 64-65, n. 5.

³ For this name see "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 66, n. 7.

⁴ For this word see "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 67, n. 33.

⁵ For this word see "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 69, n. 69.

⁶ For this name see "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 70, n. 74.

⁷ For this word see "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 72, n. 98.

⁸ For this word see "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 78, n. 160.

⁹ For this word see "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 80, n. 169.

¹⁰ For this word see "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 94, n. 405.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 18.

¹² Heidelberg, 1913.

¹³ Lit., "self[same]." For *ipse* cf. Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 35: "Die Demonstrativpronomina werden ziemlich ohne Unterschied gebraucht, ihres Bedeutung ist oft den Wert eines Artikels beschränkt, so besonders *ipse*."

¹⁴ Cf. Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 137a: "limitaris *Schwelle* 112,2."

¹⁵ Cf. Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 140b: "superlimitarem *acc. Oberschwelle* 112,2."

¹⁶ Cf. Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 137a: "lectisternium *Polster* 112,4. 115,22."

¹⁷ Cf. Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 133a: "bambiceus (*βαμβύκινος*) 112,6."

¹⁸ Cf. Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 133a: "botrus (*βότρυς*) 112,7. 115,15."

¹⁹ Cambridge, 1889.

²⁰ London, 1896.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 106, n. 3.

²² Parisiis, M DCCC XLVI.

²³ See p. 21 below.

²⁴ Not "zwei Vögel," as Professor Poppe inadvertently stated (*op. cit.*, p. 106).

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

²⁶ Jules Mohl, *Le livre des rois par Abou'lkasim Firdousi*, tome V, Paris, 1877, pp. 174-175. Cf. also Dr. Fr. Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage bei den Orientalen*, Leipzig, 1851, p. 29: "Iskender irrt mit seinem Heere rathlos in der Finsterniss umher und findet vier Vögel auf Säulen, mit denen er verschiedene kluge Gespräche führt."

²⁷ Leipzig · Berlin, 1913.

²⁸ In note 4 Friedlaender refers to the corresponding episode in the Ethiopic version.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 108. Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 89a-b.

³⁰ Frankfurt a. M., 1850.

³¹ Halle, 1867.

³² Leipzig, 1907.

³³ I. e., from the place where there were *ἀνθρωποι κυνοκέφαλοι* ["dog-headed men"] (Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 89a).

³⁴ Lit., "taking up [the journey]."

³⁵ For *ἐπὶ θάλασσαν* cf. Ausfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 83, 38.1): "am Meer." For *θάλασσα ~ θάλαττα* cf. Karl Wyss, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alexanderromans von Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, Freiburg, 1942, p. 38.

³⁶ Lit., "if not."

³⁷ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 89, "Cap. XXXVIII.1": "οὐρανὸν B; . . ." ["Heaven B; . . ."]

³⁸ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 89, "Cap. XXXVIII.1": "et mox μελανόν pro μαυρόν." ["and soon μελανόν ('black') for μαυρόν ('dark')."]

³⁹ For παραβουλευσάμενοι cf. Weismann, *op. cit.*, p. 130: "*" ἵσταν παραβουλευσάμενοι ἴφτ vielleicht παραβουλευσάμενοι zu lesen, doch könnte auch παρὰ bei βουλευσάμενοι die Verkehrtheit des Entschlusses bezeichnen, also: waren thöricht genug . . ." Cf. also Wyss, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁴⁰ For εὐθέως cf. Wyss, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁴¹ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 89, "Cap. XXXVIII.2": "Quae sequuntur inde ab ἐξελθόντες δὲ usque ad finem hujus capitis non habet cod. B, qui pergit verbis: καὶ πάλιν ἤλθομεν διὰ δύο ἡμερῶν εἰς τόπους ὅπου ὁ ἥλιος οὐ λάμπει etc. (v. cap. 39 init.)." ["Cod. B, which continues with the words: καὶ πάλιν ἤλθομεν διὰ δύο ἡμερῶν εἰς τὸν ὅπου ὁ ἥλιος οὐ λάμπει ['and we came back through two days to places where the sun does not shine'] (see the beginning of Chap. 39), does not have the things which follow thence from ἐξελθόντες δὲ ['and (they) being come out'] to the end of this chapter."]

⁴² Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 89, "Cap. XXXVIII.3": "sic cod.; conj. βίας, quamvis ne hoc quidem genuinum sit." ["So the codex; I conj(ecture) βίας, howsoever unnatural, indeed, this may be."] Cf. also Weismann, *op. cit.*, p. 130 "***) μετὰ βίου? vielleicht μετὰ βίας." Weismann, *op. cit.*, p. 130, translated the latter: "mit Mühe."

⁴³ I. e., wherefore.

⁴⁴ Weismann, *op. cit.*, p. 131, has "und kam daher auf den Gedanken. . ."

⁴⁵ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 89, "Cap. XXXVIII.4": "κλούβον cod.; corr. Berger de Xivrey in Notices et Extr. des Manusc. tom. XIII, p. 185, ubi locum hunc exscriptum habes." ["The cod(ex) [has] κλούβον; Berger de Xivrey corr(ected) [it] in Notices et Extr. des Manusc. tom. XIII, p. 185, where thou hast this passage copied."]

⁴⁶ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 89, "Cap. XXXVIII.5": "τριμαλιάν cod.; corr. Berger." ["The cod(ex) [has] τριμαλιάν; Berger corr(ected) [it]."]

⁴⁷ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 89, "Cap. XXXVIII.6": "ἐχειν δὲ cod." ["The cod(ex) [has] ἐχειν δὲ."]

⁴⁸ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 89, "Cap. XXXVIII.7": "ἄλυσσον cod." ["The cod(ex) [has] ἄλυσσον"].

⁴⁹ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 89, "Cap. XXXVIII.8": "παμμεγέθεστος cod." ["The cod(ex) [has] παμμεγέθεστος."]

⁵⁰ Weismann, *op. cit.*, p. 132, has "Alexander stieg halbtodt und zitternd vor Furcht heraus. . ."

⁵¹ Lit., "of the living."

⁵² For this use of *ipse* see note 13 above.

⁵³ Cf. Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 133b: "carcyni (καρκύνιοι) 111,19."

⁵⁴ From the occurrence of *et* we would expect a finite verb in the first part of the sentence, but such is not the case.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁵⁷ Professor Poppe read it (?) *dalai* (*op. cit.*, p. 112, 10a4).

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 108, n. 3.

⁵⁹ Moscow · 1948 · Leningrad.

⁶⁰ In note 4 Friedlaender remarks "Gemeint ist natürlich „das stinkende Meer

Okeanos, das die gesamte Schöpfung umgibt"; in note 5, "Der ursprüngliche Beweggrund für seinen Abstieg in die Tiefe ist Wißbegierde"; in note 6, "Vgl. Index A §9"; and in note 7, "In Pseudokallisthenes (oben S.7 §15) steigt er in ähnlicher Weise in einem gläsernen Fasse hinunter."

⁶¹ George Routledge & Sons Limited, Carter Lane, London, 1938.

⁶² Cf. also Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 173, n. 4, for the Marco Polo reference.

⁶³ See page 20 above.

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁶⁵ Leipzig, 1851.

⁶⁶ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 90, "Cap. XXIX. . . . || 6. ἐξήντα cod." ["The cod(ex) [has] ἐξήντα."]

⁶⁷ Cf. Weismann, *op. cit.*, p. 135: "*) Ein σχοῖνος gleich 60, nach andern gleich 30 Stadien; 45 Stadien machen eine geographische Meile."

⁶⁸ Cf. Weismann, *op. cit.*, p. 135: "eine durchsichtige Quelle."

⁶⁹ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 90, "Cap. XXIX. . . . || 7. ἦν δὲ δ ἀήρ γλυκύτατος iterum om. B." ["Cap. XIX. . . . || 7. Again B om(its) ἦν δὲ δ ἀήρ γλυκύτατος ('And the air was very sweet')."]

⁷⁰ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 90, "Cap. XXIX. . . . || 8 nomen coqui om. B." ["Cap. XXIX. . . . 8. B. omits the name of the cook."] Cf. also Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 10, n. 6.

⁷¹ Cf. Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 11, n. 1: "Genauer „Zuspeise“, „Zukost“: προσφάγιον (nach Stephanus *Thesaurus* s.v. ist der Ausdruck vulgär). Der Unterschied ist nicht gleichgültig. Vgl. Index A §17."

⁷² Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 90, "Cap. XXIX || 9. ὠταρίχον C. τάριχον B." ["Cap. XXIX. . . . || 9. C. [has] ὠταρίχον. B. [has] τάριχον."]. Cf. also Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 11, n. 2: "C ὠταρίχον, das Müller in ἀδον τάριχον verbessert. B und L bloß τάριχον, das wohl auch in der Lesart von C vorliegen dürfte. Vgl. Stephanus *Thesaurus* s.v. τάριχος. Ausfeld übersetzt „Salzfisch“."

⁷³ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 90, "Cap. XXIX. . . . || 10. τὸ ἔδεσμα add. B." ["Cap. XXIX. . . . || 10. B add(s) τὸ ἔδεσμα ['the food']."]

⁷⁴ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 90, "Cap. XXIX. . . . || 11. addit B: ἦσαν δὲ πάντες οἱ τόποι ἐκεῖνοι ἔννυροι, quae paullo post significat C." ["Cap. XXIX. . . . || 11. B adds: ἦσαν δὲ πάντες οἱ τόποι ἐκεῖνοι ἔννυροι ['And all those places were wet'], which things C indicates just after."]

⁷⁵ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 90, "Cap. XXIX. . . . || 12. haec om. B pergens: πάλιν οὖν ὁδεύσαντες σχολίους λ' etc." ["Cap. XXIX. . . . || 12. B om(its) these things, continuing: πάλιν οὖν ὁδεύσαντες σχολίους λ' ['Again, then, journeying 30 *scholoi*'], etc."]

⁷⁶ In note 2 Friedlaender remarks "Dies mit Rücksicht auf Koran 18, 84. Vgl. oben S.139"; and in note 3, "Die sich also im Westen befand, vgl. Index A §8."

⁷⁷ See "Notes to the Translation of the Text," pp. 63-64, n. 2.

⁷⁸ See "Notes to the Translation of the Text," pp. 64-65, n. 5.

⁷⁹ See "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 66, n. 7.

⁸⁰ See "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 70, n. 74.

⁸¹ See "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 72, n. 98.

⁸² See "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 78, n. 160.

⁸³ For *tenggis*, a Turkish loanword, see "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 94, n. 393.

⁸⁴ See note 83 above.

⁸⁵ See "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 95-96, n. 428.

⁸⁶ For later Turkish versions cf., e. g., Sir Ernest A. Wallis Budge, Kt., *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia*, London, 1933, p. xxi, VIII.

⁸⁷ See page 5 above.

⁸⁸ Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1894.

⁸⁹ St. Petersburg, Printing Office of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vass. Ostr., Ninth Line, 12, 1911. Pp. x + 288 + 1 map.

⁹⁰ Cf. Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁹¹ Translated as "Description of the Barbarous Peoples" by Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁹² For bibliographic details concerning this great encyclopaedia compiled by Wang Ch'i 王圻 and his son Wang Ssu-i 王思義 cf. the entry on page 114 of Têng Ssu-yü and Knight Biggerstaff, *An Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Reference Works, Revised Edition*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950, pp. x + 326.

⁹³ This name is a variant of the more usual *Ch'a-pi-sha*. Cf. Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 ("Note") and 271a. Cf. also P. Pelliot, *T'oung pao* 32 (1936) 361-362, who restored *Ch'a-pi-sha* as "*Jabirša," (p. 362) i. e., *Jābarsa*. He remarked (p. 362): "Le Jābarsa, etc., était un pays mythique placé par les Arabes à l'Extrême Occident; il se peut que ce soit lui que Kāšyari ait transporté, par tradition différente ou par erreur, aux confins extrêmes de l'Orient."

⁹⁴ For this name cf. Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 283b.

⁹⁵ The statement by Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 153: ". . . he left an inscription saying that here was the place where the sun sets in the West" is inaccurate.

⁹⁶ So that it will not sound like thunder.

⁹⁷ Cf. Antoine Mostaert, C. I. C. M., *Folklore Ordos (Traduction des Textes oraux ordos)*, *Monumenta Serica, Journal of Oriental Studies of the Catholic University of Peking, Monograph XI*, The Catholic University Press, Peip'ing, 1947, pp. 209-215 §49.

⁹⁸ See page 3 above.

⁹⁹ It is used, however, in the Turkish texts on 15v, 16r, 16v, 17r, and 17v of the same booklet in which the Mongolian text is found. For a reproduction of 17v cf. Bang and Rachmati, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹⁰⁰ En marge des lettres des il-khans de Perse retrouvées par Abel-Rémusat," *Collectanea Orientalia* 4 (Lwów, 1933) 1-48 (p. 17).

¹⁰¹ See "Notes to the Translation of the Text," p. 97, n. 458.

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TEXT

[7r]

- [1] beler arte Qurasan-u ɣaʃar-a Misir neretü
 [2] balɣasun-dur Sulqarnai neretü [. . .]
 [3] mingyan nasulaʃu [. . .]
 [4] Sulqarnai-yi keb[. . ? . .] [. . .]
 [5] inu irejü Sulqar[nai] [. . .]
 [6] či tngri-de soyurqaydaʃu [. . ? . .] [. . .]
 [7] či qoyina urida [. . .]
 [8] a[n]e [ü]ge[-yi] sonosçu [bürün] [. . .]
 [9] kemerün qoyar mingɣ[an nasulaʃu] [. . .]
 [10] [. . .]

[7v]

- [1] [. . ? . .]n (?) d[. . ? . .]kei [. . .]
 [2] metü noyadi quriɣulʃu [. . .]
 [3] ane [üg]e-y[i] [sono]sçu bürün [. . .]
 [4] nasun-a yaydayɣsan [. . .]
 [5] bürün tngri-[d]e irüger-e [. . ? . .]ju ɣurba[n mingyan
 nasulaʃu] [. . .]
 [6] qoina urida üküküi minu ügei atuɣ[ai] [. . .] [. . ? . .]ɣ
 [7] san ɣaʃar usun üjebe [. . .]
 [8] yabuɣulba nigen nö[ker] [. . .]
 [9] kürün baraʃu yayud [. . .]
 [10] yeke ɣaʃar [. . .]
 [11] tabin sayid nökedtü kegürge getüljü [. . .]
 [12] yabuʃu tngri-in jrlɣ-iyar ɣayça Sulqarnai Sumur tay-un

[8r]

- [1] deger-e ɣarbas-u dörben nuɣus naiman qıjayara dalai
 ötögen-ü alibe
 [2] ayulas alibe tökömüd üjegden büjügüi + Sumur tay-un orai
 [3] -dur kürtele [. . ? . .]elgü[. . ? . .] Sul[qarnai] [. . .] [. . ? . .]u
 kil[. . ? . .]
 [4] ter-e deger-e nigen ta[sman] [del]ekei-dür [. . .] kin [. . .]

- [5] Sulqarnai tere tasman-i [. . ? . .]iren k[. . ? . .] nigen nö[ker-
eče]
[6] asaγču bayusu kemen küliǰ[ü] [b]a kürbe Sulq[arnai] [. . .]
[7] aqui-i inu garudi sibayun üjeǰü t[eyi]n [kembe]
[8] či γani ajuγu či deger-e [t]ngri-deče (?) öt[ögen] [. . .]
[9] ondür-eče ane tasman mongke [. . .]
[10] [. . .]
[11] [. . ? . .]m[. . ? . .] [. . .]
[12] [. . .]

[8v]

- [1] [. . .]
[2] aba [. . .]
[3] [ane m]etü [. . .]
[4] sonosu[γa]d dalai-yi ye[. . ? . .] [. . .]
[5] γarba bi + adüge yeke [. . .]
[6] kürtekü ajuγu dalai mör[e]n[-dür] orasu kem[e]n [. . .]
[7] -yi noyad inu sonosču bürün + Sulqarnai-a [. . .]
[8] či kemen ügülebesü deger-e γarču (?) irebe či [. . .]
[9] orasu kemen ügülen b[ürün] [. . .]t]ere do[tor]-a [ada]
tül[ige]n[-dür] [. . .]
[10] [a]mitan olan kegten buyu [an]e aγta-y[i] [č]inu gübčün
čalγu[qu]
[11] ajuγu gerün tedüi gürisi teyin büged [ča][γu]qu aǰ[uγu]
[12] basud teimün mayun ada-tan tüligenen amitan görüged toγ-a

[9r]

- [1] tomsi olan kebtan buyu či bürün tende orabasu ada tüligen
[2] bu boltuγai kemen qoyar kümün baytaqui-in tedüi qaraba
agüdke
[3] gül[b]e ane qaraba-in γadana inu [. . .] toor-iyar torlayulba
[4] tabun mingγan mod d[aγustal]-a kürküi <to> toγ-a tomsi
degēs[ün]
[5] <to> tomγayulba qaraba abdur-a-dur oraǰu bür[ün] [. . .]
[6] job idegen künesün tegeǰü abdur-a-in d[o]t[or-a] [. . .]
[7] güri batuda uyaǰu bü[rün] d[alai]-dur oraǰu (?) y[abuba] [. . .]
[8] ülü mede[n] odču [bürü]n nigen [. . .]

- [9] [. . .]
 [10] [. . .] kemen ügüle[jü] S[u][qarnai] [. . .] [tngrī-de]
 [11] soyurqaɣdaʃu büküi [. . .]
 [12] bütübe bi Sumur t[ay] [. . .]

[9v]

- [1] dalai mören-ü iruɣar[-tur] [. . .]
 [2] aisu bi kemen ügülebe[e] [. . .]
 [3] arte tngrī ɣaʃar [. . .]
 [4] ane (?) alēi [. . .]
 [5] čabčīn büküi-dür bolad [. . .]
 [6] üdesi nadur ʃoluɣaʃu odb[a] [. . .]
 [7] ker kürsü kemen aisu čī [qu]rdun-a qari [. . .]
 [8] -yin ürida qari kemen ügülebe ane ü[g]e[-yi Sulqarnai]
 [9] sonosču bürün olasun degesün ködelgejü ɣ[. . ? . .] [. . .]
 [10] basa kü <kü> nigen sara-dur degegsi-de ɣ[arču d]aɣusba
 dal[ai-in]
 [11] dotar-a-qi üjegsenigen bügüdei noyad-turiyan ü[gülejü]
 [12] ögbe noyad sonasču ɣaiqalduba teyin kijü basa
 [13] nigen tedüi aʃu basa kü noyad-turiyan quriɣaʃu ay-e

[10r]

- [1] ayetürün ai nöked minu noyad sonosču aɣtun bi adüge
 [2] nigen üge duradču an buyu bi adüge naran ake-lüge
 singgeldüsü
 [3] qarangɣu keʃige odqu aʃuɣu qarangɣu-yi daɣay-a qolaba
 [4] oyir-a-ba büküi inu üjey-e sin[gg]e[le]ng ker yambar
 [5] yosutu büjügüi kemen ügülebe tendeče nö[ked] [. . .]
 [6] adüge Sulqarnai deligetü ɣaʃar usun [. . .]
 [7] qarangɣu-in ʃug odsu [kem]en ane sedk[il] [. . .]
 [8] kemen ügüeldübe tendeče Su[lqarnai] [. . .]
 [9] daɣadqun [. . .]
 [10] olan noyad ʃ-e [. . .]
 [11] quriɣaʃu naran singgeg[sen] [. . .]
 [12] (?) baɣuʃu qarangɣu-in am[asar-a] [. . .]

[10v]

- [1] nöked-tü or[aǰ]u [. . .]
- [2] dotor-a yabuba tere [. . .]
- [3] ireǰü Sulqarnai [. . .]
- [4] ane qarang[γu] [. . .]
- [5] ǰaγur-a ilegeǰü yabuquǰ-ban [. . .]
- [6] γurban mingγan nasun-duri[ya]n itegeǰü ya[buba] [. . .]
- [7] busud ade olan nöked činu metü yaγuba nasu-yi[n] [üres]
- [8] ügei bui ǰ-e ade üresi aran üǰey-e [. . .]
- [9] öri ütü berkes ǰaǰar-a ada tüligen-dür b[olba] [. . .]
- [10] čü bürün qurdun-a qari čimada ba ase bitügdesen ǰaǰar
- [11] usun ügei bui ǰ-e kemen ügülebe tere üge-yi Sulqarnai
- [12] sonosču bürün nöked-tegen tein ügüleǰü ögbe adüge

[11r]

- [1] andeče qaribası tngri-de ǰayaγdayısan nasuban minu
tögüsbesü
- [2] ber ande büged ülü üküküi mongke bolqu usun tngri-deče
- [3] ǰalbarın γuyıldusu kemen ügüleǰü bürün ǰalbarın kürbe
qarang[γu]
- [4] -in amasar-a ayısuqu-dur nigen kümün beyegen ülü üǰegülün
- [5] čögečeber düğüren usun ögbe Sulqarnai čü [. . .] [tngri-de]
- [6] soyurqa[γ]dayısan γurban mingγan nasunača [. . .]
- [7] čü adüge ane usun uγ[uǰu] bürün keb keǰig[e t]n[gri] ǰaǰa[r]
[. . .]
- [8] qubiltala inayısi-da ülü ü[kün] [. . .]
- [9] mongke nasulaqu čü kemen [ügülebe tere üge-yi Sulqarnai
sonosču]
- [10] bürün nöked-tegen ügülebe ane [. . .]
- [11] kembe nöked inu ügüler-ün ane qarangγ[u] [. . .]
- [12] kemen amu čü γada γarču olan nöked-tür a [. . .]

[11v]

- [1] tendeče uyubasu yaγu alǰaqu ta kembe teyin [kiǰü] [. . .]
- [2] γarba qarangγu doto-a-qı ali-be üǰegseni-in [. . .]
- [3] (?) satayan büğüdeyi irgen [o]rγan-duriyan ü[güleǰü ögbe]

- [4] tegünü qoina tere usu γariyar [. . .]
- [5] -iyan sayid nöked-türiyen [. . .]
- [6] urtu nasulaqu usun ögbe bi anakü k[. . ? . .]
- [7] jarimud aran tngri-in soyurqaşu ögügsen-dür uşu[basu]
- [8] kü sayin bui j-e kemeldübe jarimud aran [. . .]
- [9] uşubasu ker bui kemeldübe + tendece nigen sayin [abügen]
- [10] seçen noyan bülege tere noyan ügüler-ün teyin kembe
- [11] ane bürün usun uşubasu keb keşige tngri yaşar qubilta[l]a
- [12] ülü ükün masi sayun yadaşu ükükiü aqı-a sayar

[12r]

- [1] bolşu aqu çi ade irgen oryan çinu bügüde üküjü
- [2] qoçarbasu çinu ber aşsan çinu yaşçayar yaşun tus-a
- [3] çimayi bürün ane metü ayisurun dayaşun aran ülü törei
- [4] j-e çi bürün teyin boluşsan üşügür öberiyen gemişü
- [5] bi bürün ane usun es-e uşubasu yekin ayin [. . .]
- [6] bi kemen + gemsiküi-eçe [ülü] aişu bügesü uşu ker-be [. . .]
- [7] çi qoina maşui bolşu çi kemen ügüle[be] [. . .]
- [8] Sulqarnai sonosçu teyin bü[gesü] [. . .] [yaşun]
- [9] tus-a bolşu kemen şarturiyan bari[şu] [. . .]
- [10] usun saşışu ilebesü arça modun-u n[abçi]n [. . .]
- [11] tusçu arça modun tereküber übüş şun (?) şatas ülü[ü]
- [12] qoşıraşu bolşu teyin kişu aşsan tügel M[is]ir

[12v]

- [1] balaşasun-a ireşü tegünü qoina Sulqarnai yeke [. . .]
- [2] nöked-iyer qurışu teyin ügülebe ta noşad minu sonosudşun
- [3] deşer-e tngri-deçe atüşe ake şoşıyaşsan inaşıda [. . .]
- [4] ürida kedün-be qad törebei j-e adü[ge] [. . .]
- [5] qoina kedün-be qad noşad t[öremü] ş[-e] [. . .]
- [6] bidan-u şırly-iyar şurban mingşan nasul[aşu] [. . .]
- [7] şırşalngşı yaşça bi şırşaba ane ale nasun-ıyan töğü[sbesü?]
- [8] nada es-e üşegdeşsen irgen orşan üşei bui j-e kembe
- [9] dalai ötöşen-i yeke tengşis-i tengşisün iruş[ar-i] tu[şulşu]
- [10] irebe bi Şumur taş-un orai deşer-e şarşba naran şingşekü
- [11] -in şuş qarangşu-yi daşaba qoşar od yaşuşu şutuşar on

[12] -dur mongke-yin usun soyurqaydaǵu ǵarba ǵob ǵurban
ming[ǵan]

[13] nasulaba bi aduǵe bi ane ǵajar-un deǵer-e ǵayǵa bi

[13r]

[1] qan bolǵu aba ane ale ǵajar deǵer-e m[in]u metü jirǵaysan

[2] qan es-e törejü bülege namayi ükübesü dalai-yi nigete

[3] bitüǵülüdkün angqa urida mingyan narid ökidi mingyan kü

[4] altan natur düǵüreng tana subud altan kiǵü argülüdkün

[5] tegünü qoina mingyan ǵalǵus sayid abalduǵı bökes-i

[6] dayulaǵu irǵus-i quyurdaǵu quyurčini ilǵaǵu qorin

[7] ǵučin nasutani mingyan köbegüdi yabuǵuludqun tegünü
q[oin]a

[8] mingyan čayǵad terigüten abügedi ya[buǵuludqun] [. . .]

[9] [a]büged d[aru]i-dur ǵalbarıǵu [y]abu[tuǵai] [. . .]

[10] jıdas üldüs bariǵulǵu yabuǵulu[dqu]n [. . .]

[11] ǵar minu ile ba aǵuludqun namayi üje[. . ? . .] [. . ? . .]gei
[. . .]

[12] kegelidür oraqu bügesü mingyan ökidi tana subud

[13] aburaqu bügesü aburan čidaqu bülege ǵ-e t[ed]eger

[13v]

[1] -tür oraqu bügesü ade abügedi tngri t[eǵi]yebesü

[2] aburan čidaqu bülege + töreged ba üküküi aǵuǵu

[3] ǵurban mingyan ba nasulabasu üküküi aǵuǵu + keb keǵi[ge]

[4] bügesü üküküi aǵuǵu adeneče qurid[aǵu] [. . . qad]

[5] noyad törebei ǵ-e adübe ba [. . .]

[6] kedün-be qad noyad töremü ǵ-e ai [. . .]

[7] -dur jirǵaytun ükün barabasu tus-a ügei aǵuǵu

[8] kembe dayusba baraba dayusba kemen a[b]üged

[9] jirǵadqun ükün barabasu tus-a ügei aǵuǵu kemebe dayusba

[10] jirǵadqun ükün barabasu tus-a ügei

[11] qutluy bols-un edlüg edǵülüg kels-ün

[12] aǵuǵu kembe dayusba + aǵuǵu kemebe

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 tana subud 13r12
 tana subud altan 13r4
 tasman [< Turkish *tasma* < Persian
 تسمه (*t(a) sma*)] v. ane tasman,
 nigen t[asman]
 tasman-i (acc.) v. tere tasman-i
 -te (dat.-loc.) v. nigete, -tegen
 t[ed]eger [13v1]-tür 13r13-13v1
 tedüi v. gerün tedüi, nigen tedüi,
 qoyar kümün baytaqui-in tedüi
 tege-
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 -tegen (dat.-loc. + poss.-refl.) 10v12
 tegünü qoina 11v4; 12v1; 13r5, 7
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 teimün [~teyimün] 8v12
 tein [~teyin q. v.] 10v12
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 tendeče 10r5, 8; 11v1, 9
 tenggis-i v. yeke tenggis-i
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 tere d[otor-a] 8v9 ([t]ere d[otor]-a);
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 tere usu 11v4
 tere üge-yi 10v11; 11r9 ([tere üge-yi])
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 terigüten v. mingyan čayayad teri-
 güten abügedi
 teyin [~tein q. v.] 8r7 ([teyi]n); 8v11;
 9r12; 11v1, 10; 12r4, 8, 12; 12v2
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 <to> tomγayul-
 <to> tomγayulba 9r5
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 tökömüd v. dalai ötögen-ü alibe [2]
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 törebei 12v4; 13v5

- töreged 13v2
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 töremü 12v5 (t[öremü]); 13v6
 tuyul-
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 -tur (dat.-loc.) 9v1 ([-tur])
 -turiyan (dat.-loc. + poss.-refl.) 9v11,
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 tus-
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 tus-a v. yaγun tus-a
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 -tü v. nöked-tü, nökedtü
 tügel v. aysan tügel
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 -tür (dat.-loc.) 11r12; 13v1
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 -u (gen.) 7r1; 12r10
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 usu v. tere usu
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 [-dur], γaγar usun, γaγar usun-
 [-dur], γaγar usun ügei, urtu
 nasulaqu usun
 uya-
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 -ü (gen.) 8r1
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 üjēgdegsen 12v8
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 (y[abuba])
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[y]abu[tuγai] 13r9	10r3; 10v7, 11; 11v9 ([-yi]),
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yaγun tus-a 12v2, 8-9 ([yaγun] [9]	k[. . ? . .] 11v6
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yambar yosutu 10r5	kil[. . ? . .] 8r3
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yeke γaǰar 7v10	[. . ? . .]n 7v1
yeke tenggis-i 12v9	san v. [. . ? . . γI7]san
yekin 12r5	[. . ? . .]u 8r3
-yi (acc.) 7r4; 7v3 (-y[i]); 8 ([-yi]);	ye[. . ? . .] 8v4

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT

[7r]

[1] In ancient times,¹ in the land of Qurasan,² [2] in the city³ named⁴ Misir,⁵ [. . .]⁶ named Sulqarnai.⁷ [3] Living [. . .]⁸ thousand years⁹ [. . .]¹⁰ [4] [. . . ? . . .]¹¹ Sulqarnai, [5] his [. . .]¹² coming, Sulqar[nai] [. . .]¹³ “[6] Thou being favored¹⁴ by Heaven,¹⁵ [. . . ? . . .]¹⁶ [. . .]¹⁷ [7] thou, [either] after¹⁸ [or] before,¹⁹ [. . .]”²⁰ [8] [When Sulqarnai²¹ was²² listening to²³ this²⁴ word,²⁵ [. . .]²⁶ [9] when he²⁷ said,²⁸ [. . .]²⁹ “[Living] two thousand [years]³⁰ [. . .],”³¹ [10] [. . .]

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[1] [. . .]³² [2] causing the *noyad*³³ like [. . .]³⁴ to assemble, [. . .]³⁵ [3] “When [I]³⁶ was³⁷ listening to³⁸ this³⁹ word⁴⁰ [. . .]⁴¹ [4] being impoverished in years⁴² [. . .]⁴³ [5] when [. . .]⁴⁴ was [. . .]⁴⁵ [. . . ? . . .]ing⁴⁶ in a prayer⁴⁷ to⁴⁸ Heaven, [living] three [thousand years]⁴⁹ [. . .]⁵⁰ [6] let my dying [either] after⁵¹ [or] before be nonexistent,” [. . .]⁵² [7] he saw⁵³ land⁵⁴ and water⁵⁵ which⁵⁶ [. . .]⁵⁷ [8] He caused [. . .]⁵⁸ to go.⁵⁹ [. . .] one *nö[ker]*⁶⁰ [. . .]⁶¹ [9] after arriving,⁶² what⁶³ [. . .]⁶⁴ [10] great land⁶⁵ [. . .]⁶⁶ [11] crossing a bridge⁶⁷ with⁶⁸ fifty good *nöked*⁶⁹ [. . .]⁷⁰ [12] going, by the Decree⁷¹ of⁷² Heaven,⁷³ as only Sulqarnai

[8r]

[1] ascended upon Mount Sumur,⁷⁴ in the four corners⁷⁵ and [in] the eight directions,⁷⁶ [2] the mountains, whatever [they were],⁷⁷ and the hollows, whatever [they were], of the vast⁷⁸ earth⁷⁹ were⁸⁰ seen. [3] Unto⁸¹ the peak⁸² of Mount Sumur, [. . .]⁸³ Sul[qarnai]⁸⁴ [. . .]⁸⁵ [4] on that,⁸⁶ one strap⁸⁷ making⁸⁸ [. . .]⁸⁹ to earth⁹⁰ [. . .]⁹¹ [5] Sulqarnai [. . .]⁹² that strap⁹³ [. . .]⁹⁴ saying [unto himself], “I shall descend,⁹⁵ [6] inquiring [of] one [of my] *nö[ker]*,”⁹⁶ he tied [it to himself] and⁹⁷ arrived. [7] The *garudi* bird,⁹⁸ seeing that Sulq[arnai]⁹⁹ was¹⁰⁰ [. . .]¹⁰¹ so [said].¹⁰² [8] “Thou art foolish,¹⁰³ thou.¹⁰⁴ From Heaven above¹⁰⁵ [. . .]¹⁰⁶ (?) earth,¹⁰⁷ [9] from the height¹⁰⁸ [. . .]¹⁰⁹ this strap [. . .]¹¹⁰ everlasting [. . .]¹¹¹ [10] [. . .]¹¹² [11] [. . .]¹¹³ [12] [. . .]¹¹⁴

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[1] [. . .],¹¹⁵ [2] was¹¹⁶ [. . .].¹¹⁷ [. . .].¹¹⁸ [3] “ [. . .] ¹¹⁹ like [this].¹²⁰ [4] having listened to [. . .].¹²¹ [. . .] ¹²² the ocean ¹²³ [. . . ? . . .],¹²⁴ [. . .].¹²⁵ saying ¹²⁶ [to himself], “ [5] I went out. Now the great [. . .] ¹²⁷ [6] is attained. I shall enter ¹²⁸ [into] ¹²⁹ the ocean sea,” ¹³⁰ [7] when his *noyad* were listening to [. . .],¹³¹ [8] as they spake to Sulqarnai, saying, “ Thou [. . .],” ¹³² saying, “ Thou art ascended upon [it] ¹³³ and art (?) come.¹³⁴ When [thou] art ¹³⁵ speaking, saying [to thyself] that thou [9] wouldst enter [. . .],¹³⁶ within that,¹³⁷ [in danger] and disaster,¹³⁸ [10] the living beings are lying ¹³⁹ in multitudes.¹⁴⁰ [11] They ¹⁴¹ will completely ¹⁴² swallow ¹⁴³ this ¹⁴⁴ thy gelding.¹⁴⁵ So, then, they will swallow stones ¹⁴⁶ the size of a tent.¹⁴⁷ [12] Other ¹⁴⁸ such ¹⁴⁹ bad,¹⁵⁰ dangerous,¹⁵¹ and disastrous ¹⁵² living beings and beasts ¹⁵³

[9r]

[1] are lying there in multitudes ¹⁵⁴ incalculable.¹⁵⁵ As for ¹⁵⁶ thee, if [thou] enter ¹⁵⁷ there, let there [2] not be danger and disaster,” ¹⁵⁸ [3] he caused [one] to build ¹⁵⁹ a *qaraba* ¹⁶⁰ the size of [one big enough] to hold ¹⁶¹ two persons. [As for] the outside of this *qaraba*, he caused [one] to net ¹⁶² [it] by [means of] [. . .] ¹⁶³ nets.¹⁶⁴ [5] He caused [one] to twist ¹⁶⁵ ropes ¹⁶⁶ incalculable ¹⁶⁷ which would attain unto [the point of] exhausting ¹⁶⁸ [4] five thousand *mod*.¹⁶⁹ When he was entering ¹⁷⁰ into the *qaraba* box,¹⁷¹ [. . .] ¹⁷² [6] loading ¹⁷³ food and provisions ¹⁷⁴ in sufficient quantity,¹⁷⁵ within ¹⁷⁶ the box, [. . .] ¹⁷⁷ when he was tying [7] a stone firmly, (?) he went,¹⁷⁸ entering into the ocean. [. . .] ¹⁷⁹ [8] When he was going, not knowing, [. . .] ¹⁸¹ one [. . .],¹⁸² [9] [. . .],¹⁸³ [10] speaking, saying, [“. . .,”] ¹⁸⁴ S[u][q]arnai¹⁸⁵ [. . .],¹⁸⁶ [11] being favored ¹⁸⁷ [by Heaven],¹⁸⁸ [. . .] ¹⁸⁹ [12] was achieved, I spake,¹⁹⁰ saying, “ [. . .] ¹⁹¹ Mount Sumur,

[9v]

[1] [to] ¹⁹² the bottom of the ocean sea, [. . .] ¹⁹³ [2] I shall approach.” ¹⁹⁴ [. . .] ¹⁹⁵ Formerly Heaven and Earth ¹⁹⁶ [. . .],¹⁹⁷

[4] this ¹⁹⁸ (?) messenger ¹⁹⁹ [. . .], ²⁰⁰ [5] at the moment when [I] was hewing, steel ²⁰¹ [. . .], [6] in the evening ²⁰² went, encountering ²⁰³ me ²⁰⁴ [. . .] ²⁰⁵ [7] I shall approach, saying, "How shall I arrive?" ²⁰⁶ [8] Return thou swiftly. ²⁰⁷ Before ²⁰⁸ [. . .], ²⁰⁹ [thou] spakest, saying, "Return." When [Sulqarnai] ²¹⁰ was [9] listening to this word, ²¹¹ causing the hempen ²¹² rope to move, he went out. ²¹³ [. . .] ²¹⁴ [10] again, indeed, ²¹⁵ in one moon, he finished ascending upward, ²¹⁶ That which he had seen ²¹⁷ [11] which was within ²¹⁸ the sea ²¹⁹—all ²²⁰—he told ²²¹ unto his *noyad*. [12] The *noyad*, listening, ²²² wondered at ²²³ [it]. So ²²⁴ he did. ²²⁵ Again, [13] there being [but] a moment, ²²⁶ again, indeed, causing [them] to assemble, ²²⁷

[10r]

[1] when he counseled counsel ²²⁸ unto his *noyad*, he spake, saying, "Ai, my *nöked*, *noyad*, be ²²⁹ listening! ²³⁰ I now ²³¹ am ²³² recalling [2] one ²³³ word. I now shall set ²³⁴ with Mother Sun. ²³⁵ How far goeth ²³⁶ [3] the darkness? ²³⁷ I shall follow the darkness. I shall see whether it be far [4] [or] whether [it be] near. ²³⁸ [As to] the setting, ²³⁹ how [is it] and what [5] rule doth it have?" ²⁴⁰ Then the *nöked* ²⁴¹ [. . .] ²⁴² spake unto one another, saying, [6] "Now Sulqarnai, [. . .] ²⁴³ the broad ²⁴⁴ land and water, saying ²⁴⁵ [to himself], 'I shall go ²⁴⁶ in the direction ²⁴⁷ of [7] darkness,' [. . .] this thought, ²⁴⁸ [. . .]." ²⁴⁹ [8] Then Su[lqarnai], ²⁵⁰ [. . .], ²⁵¹ [9] "Follow [ye]!" ²⁵² [. . .] ²⁵³ [10] the many *noyad* [. . .], ²⁵⁴ [11] assembling ²⁵⁵ [. . .], ²⁵⁶ that the sun had set, [. . .], ²⁵⁷ [12] going down, ²⁵⁸ [. . .] ²⁵⁹ unto the entrance of darkness, ²⁶⁰

[10v]

[1] entering ²⁶¹ with [his] *nöked*, ²⁶² [. . .] ²⁶³ [2] went within. That [. . .], ²⁶⁴ [3] coming, Sulqarnai [. . .], ²⁶⁵ spake, saying, ²⁶⁶ "[4] This ²⁶⁷ darkness [. . .], ²⁶⁸ [5] between [. . .], ²⁶⁹ thy sending and going ²⁷⁰ [. . .], ²⁷¹ [6] went, ²⁷² trusting in thy three thousand years. [. . .] ²⁷³ [7] These many other *nöked* [8] do not have whatever [seeds] ²⁷⁴ of ²⁷⁵ years [of life] as thee. [We] shall barely ²⁷⁶ see these seeds. ²⁷⁷ [. . .] ²⁷⁸ [9] have been ²⁷⁹ in *öri* ²⁸⁰ only ²⁸¹ difficult ²⁸² lands, in danger and disaster. ²⁸³ [. . .] ²⁸⁴ [10] As for thee, return

swiftly. And there is neither land nor [11] water which hath not yet been traversed ²⁸⁵ by thee.” [12] When Sulqarnai was listening to that word, he so spake ²⁸⁶ unto his *nöked*. When he was speaking, saying, ²⁸⁷ “ Now,

[11r]

[1] when [we] shall return from hence, praying, we shall together request ²⁸⁸ [2] from Heaven the water whereby, even when [the number of] my ²⁸⁹ years ²⁹⁰ predestined ²⁹¹ by Heaven shall be finished, ²⁹² [I], then, ²⁹³ shall not die here and shall become everlasting,” [3] he arrived, praying. At the moment when he draweth nigh unto the entrance [4] of darkness, ²⁹⁴ one person, not showing his body, ²⁹⁵ [5] gave a cup ²⁹⁶ full of ²⁹⁷ water [unto him]. [He spake,] ²⁹⁸ saying, “ Sulqarnai, thou, [. . .], from the three thousand years [6] whereby [thou] hast been favored ²⁹⁹ [by Heaven], ³⁰⁰ [. . .], ³⁰¹ [7] when thou now art drinking ³⁰² this water, [8] up to the time when ³⁰³ Heaven and Earth ³⁰⁴ [. . .] ³⁰⁵ are transformed (= destroyed), ³⁰⁶ in the meantime, ³⁰⁷ not dying, [. . .], ³⁰⁸ [9] thou shalt enjoy everlasting life. [10] When [Sulqarnai] was [listening to that word], ³⁰⁹ he spake unto his *nöked*. [11] He said, ³¹⁰ “ This [. . .].” ³¹¹ When his *nöked* spake, [12] [they spake, saying,] ³¹² “ Thou art saying [to thyself], ‘ This darkness [. . .].’ ” ³¹³ Going outside, ³¹⁴ he said ³¹⁵ unto the many *nöked*, ‘ A! ³¹⁶ [. . .] ³¹⁷

[11v]

[1] then, if [ye] drink, how will ye be hindered? ’ ’ ³¹⁸ So [he did]. ³¹⁹ [. . .] ³²⁰ [2] he went out. [He] told ³²¹ unto his people ³²² what he had seen, ³²³ whatever [it was], which was within the darkness— [3] [. . .] ³²⁴ (?) all ³²⁵ and everything. [4] After that, [. . .] ³²⁶ that water, by the hand, [. . .] ³²⁷ [5] [. . .] ³²⁸ my ³²⁹ [. . .] ³³⁰ unto my good *nöked*. [6] I gave the water whereby one liveth long. This ³³¹ [. . .].” ³³² [7] Some ³³³ people said unto one another, “ In[asmuch as] Heaven hath been pleased to give [it], ³³⁴ if [we] drink ³³⁵ [it], [8] indeed, it will be good.” Some people said unto one another, [9] “ [. . .], ³³⁶ if [we] drink [it], how will it be? ” Then there was one good [old man], ³³⁷ [10] a wise *noyan*. When

that *noyan* spake, he so said,³³⁸ [11] “As for this, if [thou] drink the water, up to the time when Heaven and Earth are transformed (= destroyed), [12] not dying, being very exhausted from living, thou shalt

[12r]

[1] become an obstacle³³⁹ to dying and existing. If these people of thee all, dying, [2] remain behind,³⁴⁰ that thou shalt have existed alone, thou,³⁴¹ what use [will that be]? [3] As for thee³⁴²—when it happeneth³⁴³ like this³⁴⁴—people who follow [thee] will be born³⁴⁵ no more. [4] As for thee, if [thou] art [not]³⁴⁶ afraid³⁴⁷ of the fact that, [later], thyself regretting an end³⁴⁸ which shall be so come to pass, [thou] shalt regret, saying, [5] ‘As for me, if I had not drunk this water, how [would]³⁴⁹ [6] I [. . .]³⁵⁰ thus?,’ drink [it]. If [. . .],³⁵¹ [7] thou, after, shalt become bad,³⁵² thou.”³⁵³ [8] Sulqarnai, hearing [. . .],³⁵⁴ saying, “If it be³⁵⁵ so, [. . .]³⁵⁶ [what]³⁵⁷ [9] use will [that] be?,” taking [the water] in his hand,³⁵⁸ [. . .],³⁵⁹ [10] when he poured the water,³⁶⁰ [11] it fell [. . .]³⁶¹ the leaves³⁶² of a cypress tree³⁶³ and the cypress tree—that³⁶⁴ [one]—winter and summer,³⁶⁵ did not come [12] to dry up at all.³⁶⁶ So he did.³⁶⁷ Safe and sound³⁶⁸ he came

[12v]

[1] to the city³⁶⁹ [named] M[is]ir. After that, Sulqarnai [. . .]³⁷⁰ great [. . .]³⁷¹ assembling³⁷² [2] with³⁷³ [his] *nöked*, so spake. He said,³⁷⁴ “Ye, my *noyad*, listen!³⁷⁵ Since³⁷⁶ Mother Earth³⁷⁷ hath been created³⁷⁸ from Heaven [3] above, [. . .],³⁷⁹ [4] before,³⁸⁰ however many *qad*³⁸¹ were born. Now³⁸² [. . .],³⁸³ [5] after, however many *noyad* [who are] *qad* are born.³⁸⁴ [. . .]³⁸⁵ [6] By the Decree of Us,³⁸⁶ only I have joyed [7] the joy³⁸⁷ [. . .]³⁸⁸ whereby one liveth³⁸⁹ three thousand years. As this my very life endeth,³⁹⁰ there are no [8] people who have not yet been seen by me.”³⁹¹ [9] “Traversing³⁹² the vast earth, the great sea,³⁹³ and the bottom of the sea, [10] I am come. [I] ascended upon the peak³⁹⁴ of Mount Sumur. I followed the darkness in the direction [11] of the setting of the sun. Travelling two years,³⁹⁵ [12] in the third year, being favored with the water of eternity,³⁹⁶ I went out.

[13] I have lived exactly three thousand years. Now I, on this earth, only I ³⁹⁷

[13r]

[1] have become *qan*. On this very earth there hath not been born ³⁹⁸ [2] a *qan* who hath joyed as I. ³⁹⁹ When I ⁴⁰⁰ die, [3] cause [ye me] once to traverse the ocean (= world). ⁴⁰¹ First of all ⁴⁰² cause [ye] to offer ⁴⁰³ a thousand fine maidens, ⁴⁰⁴ filling a thousand *natur* ⁴⁰⁵ of [4] gold with big pearls, ⁴⁰⁶ little pearls, ⁴⁰⁷ and gold. ⁴⁰⁸ [5] After that, choosing a thousand young ⁴⁰⁹ and good wrestler-athletes and, [6] singing, ⁴¹⁰ singers, ⁴¹¹ and, zithering, ⁴¹² zitherists, ⁴¹³ send [ye] a thousand sons—those who are twenty[7] or thirty years old. ⁴¹⁴ After ⁴¹⁵ that, send [ye] ⁴¹⁶ [8] a thousand white-headed ⁴¹⁷ old men. [. . .] ⁴¹⁸ let [9] the old men ⁴¹⁹ immediately ⁴²⁰ go, ⁴²¹ praying. ⁴²² Send ⁴²³ [. . .], ⁴²⁴ causing them to bear [10] spears ⁴²⁵ and swords. ⁴²⁶ And cause [ye] my [11] hands to be ⁴²⁷ exposed. ⁴²⁸ [. . .] ⁴²⁹ me [. . .] ⁴³⁰ [. . .]. ⁴³¹ If [. . .] ⁴³² enter into [12] the belly, ⁴³³ if [. . .] ⁴³⁴ [13] save big pearls and little pearls, [. . .] ⁴³⁵ would be ⁴³⁶ able to save the thousand maidens. If [. . .] ⁴³⁷ enter

[13v]

[1] into those, ⁴³⁸ if Heaven nourish ⁴³⁹ [them], [. . .] ⁴⁴⁰ can [2] save these old men. And, ⁴⁴¹ having been born, ⁴⁴² they will die. [3] And if they live three thousand years, they will [still] die. [4] Whenever ⁴⁴³ it be, they will [still] die. Being assembled ⁴⁴⁴ from these, ⁴⁴⁵ [5] *noyad* [who are *qad*] ⁴⁴⁶ have been born. ⁴⁴⁷ And ⁴⁴⁸ these ⁴⁴⁹ [. . .] ⁴⁵⁰ [6] however many *noyad* [who are] *qad* are born. *Ai!* Joy [ye] [7] in [. . .]. ⁴⁵¹ After one dieth, ⁴⁵² it is no [more of] use.” Saying, [8] “[I] have concluded. [I] have finished. [I] have concluded,” he said, “Old men, ⁴⁵³ [9] joy [ye]. After one dieth, ⁴⁵⁴ it is no [more of] use.” He said, ⁴⁵⁵ “[I] have concluded. [10] Joy [ye]. If one finish dying, ⁴⁵⁶ it is ⁴⁵⁷ not [of any] use. [11] *Qutluy bols-un edgülig kels-ün.*” ⁴⁵⁸ [12] He said, ⁴⁵⁹ “[I] have concluded. It is.” ⁴⁶⁰

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION TO THE TEXT

¹ In the expression which Professor Poppe reads "balar erte" the first word unquestionably is *beler*, not *balar*, as we see from its occurrence in the opening verse of the first quatrain of the poem which closes the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362. Cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu," *HJAS* 12 (1949).1-333 (+ Plates I-XXVII) (p. 67). As the head-rhyme throughout the quatrain is *be-*, with the exception of *bi-* in the second line, i. e., *beler-ēe*, *Bis Balar̄-a* (instead of *Bes Balar̄-a*), *berkesiyel ügei*, and *bekilejü*, it is clear that the reading of the word is *beler*, not *balar*. Furthermore, the expression *beler erte* is attested in the *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語 (Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1918) 1.3v5, where we find 別列兒額兒迭 (*pieh-lieh-erh e-erh-tieh*), i. e., *beler erte* (≈ *beler erte*), as a translation of the Chinese 古昔 (*ku-hsi*) "antiquity." Cf. also Marian Lewicki, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIV^e siècle. Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389, Édition critique précédée des observations philologiques et accompagnées de la reproduction phototypique du texte*, Wrocław, 1949, p. 151. Cf. further the remarks in Cleaves, *op. cit.*, p. 129, n. 237.

In a letter dated 3 December 1958 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert drew my attention to the fact that the expression *beler erte* is also attested in the Sino-Mongolian glossary in the *Wu-peï-chih* 武備志 of 1621, compiled by Mao Yüan-i 茅元儀 (1580-1640), where we find 怕列兒額兒忒 (*p'a-lieh-erh e-erh-t'e*), i. e., *beler erte*, in 227 (*ts'e* 93).16r1, also as a translation of the Chinese 古昔 (*ku-hsi*).

The expression *beler erte čay-tur* is found in J. É. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, Tome deuxième, Kasan, 1846, p. 1076a, with the translation "dans le temps reculé obscur; au temps jadis." As it is registered under the entry on *balar* "obscur, qui n'est pas clair, embrouillé, confus: galimatias," it is obvious that Kowalewski read the first word *balar*, not *beler*. However, as remarked by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert in a letter dated 21 January 1958, "*Beler* dans *beler erte* ne veut pas dire "obscur". On a commencé à dire *balar erte* quand on ne comprenait plus le mot *beler*." This explains not only the reading *balar* in A. Luvsandendev (Editor), Монгольско-русский словарь [*Mongolian-Russian Dictionary*] (Moscow, 1957), p. 59b: "балар цагийн первобытный; балар эртний хуй нэгдлийн байгуулал первобытнообщинный строй" [*balar cagün primitive; balar ertnüu xüi negdliin baiguulal primitive communal organization*] and, p. 572b: "балар эртний хуй нэгдэл первобытная община" [*balar ertnü xüi negdel primitive commune*"], but also the Khalkha *balar эртний* [*balar ertnü*] (cf. A. R. Rinčine, Краткий монгольско-русский словарь [*Concise Mongolian-Russian Dictionary*], Moscow, 1947, p. 27: "до-исторический, древний; . . ." ["prehistoric, ancient"]) and the Buriat *балар эртэ саг* [*balar erte sag*] (cf. К. М. Čeremisov, Бурят-монгольско-русский словарь [*Buriat-Mongolian-Russian Dictionary*], Moscow, 1951, p. 88b: "первобытные времена" ["primitive times"]). Thus two unrelated words—*beler* "antiquity" and *balar* "obscure"—have been confused semantically and phonologically.

An interesting textual example of *erte beler čay-tu* is found on page 251 of C. Damdinsürüng's *Mongγol-un uran jokiγal-un teike* [*History of Mongolian Literature*], Öber Mongγol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriγ-a [The Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House], 1957, in the opening sentence of the section captioned "5. Böge

ba lama-nar-un temečel" ["The Struggles of the Sorcerers and the Lamas"] (pp. 251-253), which reads: *Böge mörgöl Mongyol-du erte beler čaγ-tu egüsügen büged arban jürγudurγar jaγun-u üy-e-eče ekilen Burqan-u šasin-du siqaydan baγurayсан байн-a*: "The sorcerer worship (= shamanism) began in early, ancient times in Mongolia and, beginning with the sixteenth century, declined, being squeezed out by Buddhism." That Damdinsüring read *erte balar čaγ-tu*, not *erte beler čaγ-tu*, however, is clear from C. Damdinsüren *Mongolyn uran zoxiolyn toim* [Sketch of Mongolian Literature], Negdügeer devter [First Volume], Ulsyn xevlelїн gazar [State Publishing House], Ulaanbaatar, 1957, wherein we find the same sentence in the section entitled "Böö ba lam naryn temcel" ["The Struggle of the Sorcerers and the Lamas"] (p. 144) cyrillicized as follows (p. 144): *Böö mörgöl mongold ert balar cagt üüssen bögöod 16 dugaar zuuny üees exlen burxny šažind šaxagdan buursan байна*.

For an excellent textual example of *balar ert cagaas* in Khalkha cf. the opening paragraph of the first chapter ("Sur xarvax yavdlyn tüüxnees" ["From the History of Archery"]) (pp. 5-18) in the work by O. Namnandorž, entitled *Sur xarvax, namnax tuxai* [On Archery] (Ulaanbaatar, 1957) (pp. 58), which reads (p. 5):

Balar ert cagaas exlen xün töröłxtön am' težeež až töröxdöö yuny ur'd xödölmörün багаž зевсег хийж exelsnū dotroos num sum uildež an göröö agnax, eldev daišnaas xamgaalax, dovtlox, baidax yavdald num sumyg maš čuzal zevseg bolgon xereglež baižee.

"From remotest times men, for sustaining their life and finding their subsistence, began to make before anything else tools for work. Among [these] they fabricated bows and arrows and, regarding bows and arrows as very important tools for hunting wild animals, protecting themselves against diverse enemies, attacking, and fighting, they made use of [them]."

I am indebted to Mr. David M. Farquhar for bringing to my attention on 9 December 1958 the example of *balar sag* in the poem by the Buriat poet, Xoca Namsaraevič Namsaraev, found on page 156 of A. Ayurzanaī and D. Dugar-Zab, *Buryat-mongol literatura* [Buriat-Mongolian Literature], Buryat-mongoloi nomoi xebel [Buriat-Mongolian Publishing House], Ulan-Ūde, 1954. The poem begins:

Xaranxy sag xayagdaža,

Xaluun naran mandaba.

Balar sag baragdaža,

Bata naran mandaba.

"The dark times being forsaken,

The hot sun arose.

The ancient times being finished,

The strong sun arose."

² Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 125, 7b1, rendered the words *Qurasan-u yažar-a* "im Osten." He observed, *op. cit.*, p. 115, n. 1, that: "*qurasan-u* ist ein Genitiv von *hurāsān* (pers.) „Osten, Baktrien, Provinz Khurasan". Hier scheint die erste Bedeutung vorzuliegen. Zum Genitivus appositivus vgl. N. Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, Wiesbaden 1954, S. 143."

It is true, as stated by Professor Poppe, that *خراسان* (*X(u) rāsān*) means "Osten." Cf., e. g., F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, Third Impression,

London, 1947, p. 451b: "The East; an extensive and noble country, the ancient Bactriana, lying to the north of the river Jaihūn; name of a note in music." I am inclined to the view, however, that: "Hier scheint die dritte Bedeutung vorzuliegen." For the Province of "Khurāsān" cf. G. Le Strange, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb Composed by Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn in 740 (1340)*, "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, Vol. XXIII.2, Leyden-London, 1919, pp. 146-156 ("Section 17"). There we read (p. 146):

"There are numerous cities here, and the frontiers of the province are over against Quhistān, Qūmis, Māzandarān and the Khwārazm Desert."

Among the "numerous cities" there are two which are of especial interest to us, "Herāt" and "Marv." Of the former it is said (*op. cit.*, p. 150):

"... After it had fallen to ruin Alexander the Great rebuilt it, and the circuit of its walls was 9000 paces." Of the latter it is said (*op. cit.*, p. 154):

"... The Old Fort of Marv was built by Ṭahmūrath, and Alexander the Great founded the city, making it the capital of Khurāsān."

When we further recall Alexander's military operations in this part of Iran, it does not seem extraordinary that *Qurasan* should specifically designate the Province of X(u)rāsān. In his introductory remarks, *op. cit.*, p. 106, Professor Poppe also seems to have favored this interpretation, because he speaks of Sulqarnai as having lived "in der Stadt Misir in Khurasan."

⁸ The word *balyasun* (*balyasun-dur*) is written *balayasun* (*balayasun-a*) in 12v1 below. For *balayasun* ~ *balyasun* cf. Paul Pelliot, "Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold," *TP* 27 (1930).12-56 (p. 18).

⁴ It does not seem necessary to place this word in brackets, as Professor Poppe has done, because the letters all are visible. (The -r- is partially covered by a small piece of paper displaced in the process of reproduction.)

⁵ It is true, as Professor Poppe has remarked, *op. cit.*, p. 115, n. 2, that: "*misir* gibt das arabische *miṣr* wieder. Letzteres bedeutet „Ägypten, Hauptstadt von Ägypten" und schlechthin „Stadt", s. The Encyclopaedia of Islām, vol. III (1936), S.520-521." However, it is not clear from Professor Poppe's note which of the three meanings of *Miṣr* he considers applicable in the present instance.

It seems to me that, in this Mongolian version of the romance, *Misir* is the *Miṣr* which designates the "Hauptstadt von Ägypten," in other words "Alexandria" or "Cairo." That it is here situated in the Province of X(u)rāsān is of no significance whatever, for the geographical fantasies of this and other romances are too well known to require comment.

Pelliot, "Les Anciens rapport . . .," p. 22, remarked:

"Dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle et au début du XIV^e siècle, lors des conquêtes mongoles, le Misr apparaît à nouveau dans les textes mongols et chinois; mais, en raison de l'extension de l'Empire mamlouk, le nom s'étend alors, outre l'Égypte elle-même, à la Palestine et à la Syrie occidentale. Et c'est ainsi que jusqu'au XVII^e siècle, le nom d'*acier du Misr* apparaît dans des textes mongols pour désigner ce que nous appelons les aciers de Damas. . . ."

For *Misir* < Arabic *Miṣr* cf. B. Vladimircov, "Арабские слова в монгольском" ["Arabic Words in Mongolian"], Записки Коллегии Востокведов (*Mémoires du Comité des Orientalistes*), Том V, Leningrad, 1930, pp. 73-82 (p. 78, no. 17),

and Paul Pelliot, "Sur la légende d'Uγuz-khan en écriture ouigoure," *TP* 27 (1930). 247-358 (pp. 340-341; 351). The example in the *Bičig* of Arγun of 1289, cited by both Vladimircov and Pelliot, is found in line 9, where we read: *il qan-u čerigüd Misir-ün* [10] *jug mörilabasu*. . . . "If the troops of the Il Qan set out in the direction of Misir. . . ." Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-341, also cited another example of the name in this same form in the passage in the *Yüan shih* 元史 43 (*ts'e* 13).6r4-5, which reads: "On [the day] *hsin-mao* 辛卯 [25 October 1353] [from] the country of Cha-ni Pieh 札你別 (*Ĵani Be[g]*) there were offered [to the Throne] big Sa-ha-la 撒哈剌 (*Saqla[b]*) ('Slav') *ch'a-ch'ih-erh* 察赤兒 (*čačir*) ('tents'), Mi-hsi-erh 米西兒 (*Misir*) swords and bows, coats of mail as well as black and white western horses—two each. There were granted [in return] 20,000 *ting* 錠 of *ch'ao* 鈔."

Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 340, also cited an example of the form *Miseri* in the chronicle by Sayang Sečen. Cf. Isaac Jacob Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi der Ordus*, St. Petersburg, 1829, p. 102, l. 1: *terekü Miseri bolod-iyar*, which Schmidt translated (*op. cit.*, p. 103): "mit diesem Magnetstahl." Literally rendered, the words *terekü Miseri bolod-iyar* mean "by [means of] that Miseri steel." (For further discussion of the term *Miseri bolod* cf. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-341.) Cf. also the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, *Mongolian Chronicle* by Sayang Sečen with a Critical Introduction by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert, C. I. C. M., and an Editor's Foreword by Francis Woodman Cleaves, Part II, *Scripta Mongolica* II, Harvard-University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956, p. 104, l. 14: *tere kü Miseri bolod-iyar*; Part III, p. 92, l. 7: *tere kü Miseri bolod-iyar*; and Part IV, p. 105, l. 6: *tere kü Miseri bolod-iyar*. In the words *tere kü Miseri bolod-iyar* ("by that Miseri steel") we have an allusion to an earlier occurrence of *Miseri* in the same text. Cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 100, l. 17: *Miseri neretü bolod ildün bui*: "It is a sword of steel named Miseri." Schmidt's translation (*op. cit.*, p. 101): "ich habe eine . . . Waffe von feinem Magnetstahl" may, perhaps, be considered correct, but it is preferable, I think, to translate the passage more literally. The same passage in the manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* published in *Scripta Mongolica* II reads as follows: Part II, p. 104, l. 8: *Miseri neretü bolad ildün bui*; Part III, p. 92, l. 2: *Miseri neretü bolod ildün bui*; and Part IV, p. 105, l. 2: *Miseri neretü bolod ildün bui*.

Charles Bawden, *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči, Text, Translation and Critical Notes*, *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, Band 5, Wiesbaden, 1955, p. 140, n. 42¹, in citing the latter example of the name, read *misari*, instead of *miseri*, and referred to a Tibetan etymology (*mi gsal* "hidden") proposed by Kobayashi Takashirō 小林高四郎 in his *Mōko nendaiiki* 蒙古年代記, Tōkyō, 1939, p. 33. Pentti Aalto, in his review of Dr. Bawden's work in *Studia Orientalia* XVIII: 5, pp. 32-34, observed (pp. 33-34): "42.1 die Les[34]-art der Sayang-Sečen-Ausgabe von Schmidt *miseri neretü bolod* möchte ich durch mo. (Golst. III 220) *misir*, tib. *mi ser yul* » Ägypten » erklären." In the light of the references which I have cited above, it is evident that the Mongolian *Miseri* (∼ *Misir*) is not a loan from Tibetan. Cf. also the Tibetan form cited by Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

For further occurrences of the name *Misir* in Chinese sources of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries cf. E. Bretschneider, M. D., *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, Vol. I, London, 1910, pp. 141 and 142; Vol. II, London, 1910, pp. 135, 308, and 332.

¹ At least, two words are missing, one of which is possibly the verb *aγuγu*. Professor

Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 125,7b1-2, supplied in his translation: "[Es lebte] . . . [ein Mann]. . ."

⁷ For *Sulqarnai* < Arabic ذوالقرنين (*Dū'l-qarnain*) "The Two-Horned" cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 106 and pp. 115-116, n. 3. For the origin of the name cf. H. Ritter, "Das Proömium des Maṭnawī-i Maulawī," *ZDMG* 93 (1939) 169-196 (pp. 179-183), where we read (pp. 179-180):

"Das *Sikandarnāma-i bahṛī*, das zweite Alexanderbuch Nizāmī's, enthält gleich am Anfang ein Kapitel mit der Überschrift „Über die verschiedenen Ansichten darüber, warum [180] Alexander der Zweigehörnte genannt wird" (S.23 der Ausgabe der Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1852 und 1869). Unter der verschiedenen Überlieferungen über den Grund dieser Benennungen führt der Dichter auch folgende an:

"*Etwas anderes noch als dieses sagte mir ein weiser Mann: Er (Alexander) hatte zwei übermäßig große Ohren. . .*"

We further read (p. 181):

"Diese Erzählung ist selbstverständlich nichts anderes als die Übertragung der antiken Sage von Midas' Eselsohren (Ovid, „Metamorphosen" XI, 146 ff.) auf Alexander. . ."

⁸ The last word of the second line must have been a numeral—presumably, *nigen* ("one"), *qoyar* ("two"), or *γurban* ("three"). Cf. *qoyar mingγ[an nasula]ju* in line 9 below and *γurba[n mingγan nasula]ju* in 8r5.

⁹ In a letter dated 18 September 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert remarked:

"Quant à l'expression *qoyar (γurban) nasula*-, une telle manière de parler s'entend encore à présent. En ordos on dit *džirā (dalā) nasula*- "vivre 60 (70) ans"; etc. . . on a fait un verbe du substantif *nasu* précédé du nom de nombre indiquant le nombre des années de vie. Ce dernier est en fonction d'adjectif, comme le prouve la voyelle nasalisée du nom de nombre."

¹⁰ More than half of this line is missing. Presumably, it contained words indicative of *Sulqarnai*'s desire to live so many thousand years.

¹¹ Of this word only the letters *keb* are visible, hence I read *keb[. . ? . .]*, regarding it as a verb of which the object is *Sulqarnai-yi*. It is difficult, however, to suggest a restoration, for one is as hypothetical as another. It is possible that the verb was *kebtægül*- "to cause to recline." It is also difficult to restore the form which such a verb may have had, for it could have been that of a *converbum modale* in -n, a *converbum imperfecti* in -jü, or a *converbum perfecti* in -ged, not to mention several other possible forms.

¹² Obviously, a substantive, the subject of the verb *irejü*, is missing at the end of line 4.

¹³ The words missing from this line of which less than half has been preserved must have included a verb such as *ügüleriin* "when . . . spoke," because whoever intervenes at this juncture speaks to *Sulqarnai*. It is, therefore, entirely likely that *Sulqar[nai]* should be restored as *Sulqar[nai-a]* "to *Sulqar[nai]*." Cf. *Sulqarnai-a* in 8v7.

¹⁴ For the word *soyurqa*- "to favor" cf. Pelliot, "Sur la légende . . .," pp. 302-303, n. 1. Cf. also Paul Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la Papauté," *Extrait de la Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 3^e Série, T.VIII (XXVIII), Nos 1 et 2 (1931-1932), pp. 3-84, pp. [166]-[167], n. 1.

¹⁵ The earliest attested example of the orthography *tngrī*, instead of the *scriptio*

plena tengri, is found in line 1 of the Seal of Güyüg of 1246. Cf. Pelliot, "Les Mongols . . .," Extrait de la *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 3^e Série, T.III (XXIII), N^{os} 1 et 2 (1922-23), pp. 3-30, p.[22].

¹⁶ Although Professor Poppe read "bü[gesü]," in my opinion, the word is so doubtful that I have preferred to replace it by [. . ? .].

¹⁷ Slightly less than half of the remainder of the line is missing.

¹⁸ The word *qoyina* is written *qoima* in 7v6 below.

¹⁹ The word *urida* is written *ürida* in 9v8 below.

²⁰ While it is too hazardous to restore anything at this point, in view of the occurrence of the words *qoima urida* in 7v6 in the sentence *qoima urida üküüküü minu ügei atur[ai]* "let my dying [either] after [or] before be nonexistent," it is likely that a similar sentiment was also expressed here.

²¹ The name *Sulqarnai* must have appeared at the end of line 7.

²² I tentatively supply [bürin] on the basis of *sonosçu bürin* in 10v12.

²³ While the word which I read *sonosçu* is barely visible, in the light of the words *sonosçu bürin* in 10v12, it seems likely that it is *sonosçu* which we have here.

²⁴ I propose the reading *a[n]e* with all reserve. If the word is *a[n]e*, it is consistent in orthography with the examples of this word elsewhere in the text. Cf., e.g., *ane* in 9r3, 9v8, etc.

²⁵ In reading [ü]ge[-yi], I restore the accusative suffix -yi for which there is adequate space between the -e of [ü]ge and the -s- of *sonosçu*. While the -e of [ü]ge is faint and the -g- still fainter, it is reasonably certain, in my opinion, that the word is [ü]ge.

²⁶ More than half of the remainder of this line has been lost.

²⁷ I. e., *Sulqarnai*.

²⁸ In reading *kemerin*, I follow Professor Poppe, although I am not entirely certain that this word is correctly deciphered.

²⁹ Presumably, there were verbs in 7v1 closing this quotation, as, e.g., *kemen ügülebe* "He spoke, saying."

³⁰ In reading *qoyar mingγ[an nasula]u*, I follow Professor Poppe, with the exception that I read *mingγ[an]* instead of *mingγ[an]*, the -γ- being quite visible.

³¹ The remaining half of this line is lost.

³² Although I do not venture to propose a reading for either of the two words of which only the left-hand side is visible in the upper half of this line, I do think that, with time, it may be possible to decipher both of them.

³³ In *noyad* we have a plural in -d of the word *noyan* "officer." The etymology of the word has not been established. B. Ya. Vladimircov, Сравнительная грамматика монгольского письменного языка и халхаского наречия [*Comparative Grammar of the Mongolian Written Language and the Khalkha Dialect*], Введение и фонетика [Introduction and Phonology], Leningrad, 1923, pp. 305-306 §165, derived *noyan* from the Chinese 老爺 (*lao-yeh*) "old gentleman." In his review of G. D. Sanžeev, "Манчжуро-монгольские языковые параллели" ["Manchuro-Mongolian Linguistic Parallels"], Известия Академии Наук, 1930, pp. 601-708, in TP 28 (1931).113-118, P. Pelliot remarked (p. 117): "... P. 698: L'explication de *mo. noyan* par chinois 老爺 *lao-ye* n'est pas due à M. S., mais je ne vois pas que rien l'appuie."

³⁴ See note 31 above.

³⁵ More than half of the remainder of this line is missing.

³⁶ In the tentative assumption that it is *Sulqarnai* who is speaking, I supply the

word "I" in the translation as the subject of the verbs [sono]sçu būrin. It is possible that *bi* occurred at the end of the preceding line.

⁸⁷ Professor Poppe read "busud," translating "andere." If we compare this word with the word *būrin* in line 5, it is clear that we must also read *būrin* here.

⁸⁸ Professor Poppe read ". . . sçu (?)." I tentatively restore [sono]sçu "listening."

⁸⁹ The word *ane* which Professor Poppe did not decipher is quite visible.

⁹⁰ Only the *-e* of [üg]e and the *y-* of *-y[i]* are visible. Presumably, the "word" in question is that which was spoken to Sulqarnai at the outset of this episode.

⁹¹ More than half of this line is missing.

⁹² As Professor Poppe has rightly indicated, *op. cit.*, p. 116, n. 5, the word *yayda-* is attested only in Ordos. Cf. Antoine Mostaert, C. I. C. M., *Dictionnaire ordos*, Tome deuxième (J-Ž), The Catholic University—Peking, 1942, p. 392b: "jaçpa- être très fatigué, être pauvre." It is a variant form of "java- ne pas pouvoir, être impuissant, ne pouvoir se déterminer à, ne pas vouloir | . . ." (*op. cit.* 2.391b-392a). For *yada-* in the Mongolian written language cf. Kowalewski, *op. cit.*, Tome troisième, Kasan, 1849, p. 2276b: "n'être pas en état de: être affaibli: s'appauvrir." For other examples of *-yda- ~ -d-* cf. Antoine Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953, p. [41], n. 40: "L'alternance *gd ~ d*, bien qu'étant rare n'est pas inconnue en mongol. Ainsi on a en ordos *uᠭdere- ~ uᠨdere-* "avoir une rechute" (cf. mo. *ügdere-*, *Hist. secr.* [§204] *hügdere-* id.); *k'uᠭduᠭur ~ k'uᠨduᠭur* "voûté"; *baᠭᠭaᠭar ~ baᠭaᠭar* "de petite taille, trapu"; *baᠭᠳā ~ baᠨᠳā* id. Voir. *Dict. ord.* respectivement pp. 750b, 434ab, 41b, 42a, 44a." Professor Poppe translates *nasun-a yaydaᠭu* as "arm an Lebensjahren seiend" which he interprets to mean "kein hohes Alter erreichend." Although we have no parallel example of this expression, I am inclined to the view that his interpretation is correct.

⁹³ More than half of this line is missing.

⁹⁴ The subject may be "I," but it is difficult to ascertain.

⁹⁵ The verb with which *būrin* is associated as an auxiliary was at the end of the preceding line.

⁹⁶ Professor Poppe read ". . . su," but it seems to me that we must read *-ju* (or *-jü*), the suffix of the *converbum modale* of a verb which has been lost.

⁹⁷ For *irüger* (<**hirüger* > *hirü'er*) > *irügel* with the dissimilation of *-r* to *-l* cf. Marjan Lewicki, "Les inscriptions mongoles inédites en écriture carrée," *Collectanea Orientalia* Nr. 12, Wilno, 1937, p. 62,6, and especially Nicholas Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, Helsinki, 1955, p. 161 §100. For other phonological developments of this word in the dialects cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 and 73.

⁹⁸ Professor Poppe reads "-de." As the first letter of the suffix has been lost, we should restore it in brackets, i. e., *[-d]e*. However, the suffix might also have been *[-i]n*.

⁹⁹ I follow Professor Poppe in restoring *yurba[n mingγan nasulaᠭu]*.

¹⁰⁰ The last third of line 5 is missing.

¹⁰¹ Here *qoina* alternates with *qoyina* which we have already encountered in 7r7.

¹⁰² The last third of line 6 is missing.

¹⁰³ Professor Poppe read "üjeb[e]," but I read *üjebe*, because most of the *-e* is perfectly visible.

¹⁰⁴ Professor Poppe read "yaᠭara" and translated, *op. cit.*, p. 125,8a7, "im Lande." The letter which he took for *-a*, however, is the extremely elongated *-a* of the suffix *-ba* of the verb *yabuᠭulba* in the next line.

⁵⁵ For the words *γajar usun* in conjunction cf., e.g., *deligetü γajar usun* in 10r6 and *γajar* [10] *usun* in 10v10-11 below. For *Kitad irgen-ü γajar usun-u ejed qand* "the lords of the land and waters of the Kitad people" in the *Mongγol-un niuca* [= *nūuca*] *to[b]ča'an* [*The Secret History of the Mongols*] cf. the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 元朝秘史 (Yeh Te-hui 葉德輝 edition of 1908/Commercial Press edition of 1936), "Hsü" 續 ["Continuation"], 221r4-5 and 22r2. Cf. also the Ordos "γavžar 𐰽𐰺𐰍 *l'emplacement considéré au point de vue de son influence bonne ou mauvaise sur celui qui l'occupe, ou voudrait y installer sa demeure; . . .*" (Antoine Mostaert, *op. cit.*, Tome premier (A-I), p. 235b).

⁵⁶ I follow Professor Poppe in reading *san* which appears to constitute the last three letters of *-γsan*, a suffix of the *nomen perfecti*, the *-γ* of which would have terminated the previous line. It is difficult, however, to ascertain the verb of which *-γsan* was the suffix. In any case, the word [. . ? .] *γ-san* was used as an attributive of the words *γajar usun*.

⁵⁷ More than half of the line is missing.

⁵⁸ The object of *yabuγulba* was at the end of the previous line.

⁵⁹ The word *yabuγulba* might also be translated "he sent."

⁶⁰ Professor Poppe read "niken-i. . ." What he took for *-i* is merely a hole in the paper. After *nigen* we have either *nö[ker]* or *noy[an]*, the letters *n-o-i* corresponding either to *nö-* or to *noy-*. For *nö[ker]* see note 69 below.

⁶¹ More than half of the line is missing.

⁶² Professor Poppe read "küün," translating, *op. cit.*, p. 125, 8a9, "Die Kräfte." In a letter dated 18 September 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert remarked: "Je pense qu'il faut lire *kürün baraγu*." In the same letter he added: "*Kürün baraγu* "étant arrivé" (mà m.: "achevant d'arriver")."

For another example of this use of *bara-* "to finish" cf. *ükün barabasu* "If one finish dying" in 13v7 below.

⁶³ Although I follow Professor Poppe's reading, i.e., *γayud*, a plural in *-d* of *γayun* "what," it should be observed that the word could also be read *jaγud*, a plural in *-d* of *jaγun* "hundred."

⁶⁴ More than half of this line is missing.

⁶⁵ Although Professor Poppe read "γajar(?)," I think that we may remove the question mark. The *-r*, however, is very faint.

⁶⁶ Only the first two words of this line have been preserved, with the exception of an indeterminate letter two thirds of the way down.

⁶⁷ For *keγürge* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 116, n. 6.

⁶⁸ In the occurrence of the attributive suffix *-tü* with *nöked* in the function of a comitative suffix, i.e., *nökedtü*, instead of the comitative suffix *-lüg-e*, i.e., *nöked-lüg-e*, we have an example of the use of every-day language in the text.

⁶⁹ In *nöked* we have a plural in *-d* of **nöker* (> *nökör*). In the rather extensive literature on the word we find it vocalized *nökür* instead of *nökör*. Cf., e.g., B. Vladimircov, "Mongolica I," Записки Коллегии Востоковедов при Азиатском Музее Российской Академии Наук, Том I, Ленинград, 1925, pp. 305-341 (pp. 336-337, no. 28); B. Ya. Vladimircov, "Монгольское *nökür*" ("Sur le *nökür mongole*"), Доклады Академии Наук СССР (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS*), 1929, pp. 287-288; cf. the review by [Paul Pelliot], *T'oung Pao* 28 (1931-1932) 229; and J. Németh, "Wanderungen des mongolischen Wortes *nökür* 'Genosse'," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Tomus III, 1953,

pp. 1-23. It is clear, however, from the early forms **nöker* and *nöked*, in which the vowel of the second syllable is -e-, that we must read *nökör*, not *nökür*. In his review of G. D. Sanžeev's Манчжуро-монгольские языковые параллели (See note 33 above) Pelliot remarked:

"... P. 674: ma. *neku*, "amie"; ajouter jučen **nekürü*, "ami."

⁷⁰ With the exception of parts of indeterminate letters nothing else remains of this line.

⁷¹ For *jrly*, instead of the *scriptio plena* *jarliṛ*, cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 116, n. 7. Cf. also Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la Papauté," p.[24].

⁷² The genitive suffix -in, instead of -yin, is first attested in line 3 of the Seal of Güyüg of 1246. Cf. Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la Papauté," p.[22]. Cf. also *op. cit.*, Pl. II.

⁷³ The expression *tngrī-in jrly-iyar* may be compared with that of *möngke tenggeri-yin jarliṛ* "the Decree of Everlasting Heaven" in *The Secret History of the Mongols* §244 (YCPS 10.28r1).

⁷⁴ For *Sumur Tay*, i.e., "Mount Sumur," cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 116, n. 8. To the dialect forms of *Sumur* there cited we may add the Ordos "*sömbör* (*semer*) dans *sömbör ȡla* le mont Sumeru; . . ." (Antoine Mostaert, *op. cit.* 2.586b).

⁷⁵ Professor Poppe read "*dörben orad*," translating, *op. cit.*, p. 125,8b1, "in den vier Himmelsgegenden." The second word of this expression, however, is *nuyus*, a plural in -s of **nuryu*, attested as *nu'u* in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Cf. Erich Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manḡol un Niuca Tobca'an* (*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi*), *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, Leipzig, 1939, p. 119. (Professor Haenisch transcribed it "no'u.") Cf. also Antoine Mostaert, *Erdeni-yin tobči*, *Scripta Mongolica* II, Part I, p. 75:

"*Nuyus*, dans *dörben nuyus* "les quatre coins (= les quatre points cardinaux)" (Schmidt, 114,2, [é. fautivement *uyus*]; 296,16). *Nuyus* est un pluriel de **nuryu* "coin". Cf. *Hist. secr.*, §§204,220, *nu'u*, glosé 隅 *iu* "coin". Pour *dörben nuyus* "les quatre coins", cf. turc *tört buluñ* "les quatre coins [du monde]", de l'inscription de la stèle élevée en l'honneur de Kül tegin.¹⁰⁸"

In this instance, therefore, Professor Poppe's remarks, *op. cit.*, p. 116, n. 9, are not pertinent.

⁷⁶ For *qıjayar*, a dative-locative in -a of *qıjayar* ~ *qıjayar* (> *kıjayar*), cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 116, n. 10.

For the expression *naiman kıjayarad-i* in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 114, ll. 2-3: *dörben uyus*[erratum pro *nuyus*]-i *ülü dengselken naiman* [3] *kıjayarad-i ülü isayalan*: . . . Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 115, translated this passage: "und stellte die vier verschiedenen Reichsverfassungen auf festen Fuss, . . ." Cf. also Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 296, l. 16: *dörben nuyus-i ülü dengselgen naiman kıjayarad-i ülü isayalyan*: Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 297, translated this passage: "und schützte die Grenzen des Reichs, . . ." These different translations of the same words are so free that they really are not translations at all. The same passages in the manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* published in *Scripta Mongolica* II read as follows: Part II, p. 115, l. 7: *dörben nuyus-i ülü dengselgen: naiman kıjayarad ülü isayalyan*: and p. 270, ll. 2-3: *dörben nuyus-i ülü dengselgen: naiman kıjayarad-i* [3] *ülü isayalyan*; Part III, p. 101, ll. 1-2: *dörben nuyus-i ülü dengselgen naiman* [2] *kıjayarad-i ülü nısalyan* and p. 268, ll. 8-9: *dörben nuyus-i ülü dengselgen naiman kıjayarad-i ülü nısalyan*; Part IV, p. 115,

ll. 3-4: *dörben nurus-i ülü dengselgen. naiman kiġayad-i ülü* [4] *nisalġan*; p. 266, ll. 11-12: *dörben nurus-i ülü* [12] *dengselgen naiman kiġayad-i ülü nisalġan*. It is obvious that there were two words which troubled Schmidt: (1) *nurus* and (2) *isalġan*. As for *nurus*, there is no problem. (See note 75 above.) As for *isalġan*, there is no such word. The readings *nisalġan* in Scripta Mongolica II, Parts III and IV, alone are correct. For *nisalġa*- "to disturb" cf. *niġsaġalġa*- "to joggle" in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Cf. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 117. In *nisalġa*- we have a *causativus* in *-ġa*- of *nisal*-, a *causativus* in *-l*- of *nisa*- "to shake" and in *niġsaġalġa*- we have a derivative in *-ġalġa*- (*-ġa*- + *-lġa*-) of *niġsa*- "to shake." For the suffix *-ġalġa*- (*~* *-ġelġe*-) which is used to indicate repeated movement cf. G. J. Ramstedt, "Zur verbstammbildungslehre," p. 61. In Erich Haenisch, *Eine Urga-Handschrift des mongolischen Geschichtswerk von Secen Sagang (alias Sanang Secen)*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 25, 1955, pp. V + 102, we find, p. 43v, ll. 9-10: *dörben nurus-i ülü dengselgen*: [10] *naiman kiġayad-i ülü isġalġan* (?*nisġalġan*): and, p. 95v, ll. 30-31: *dörben nurus-i ülü dengselgen: naiman kiġayad-i ülü isġalġan* (?*nisġalġan*): The words in question should be translated: "Not shaking the four corners [of the world], not disturbing the eight directions [of the world]."

⁷⁷ Professor Poppe read "olan," translating, *op. cit.*, p. 125,8b1, "zahlreichen." The word, however, is *alibe*. Although the *-b*- is faint, the *-e* is quite visible, the tail terminating on the previous page. In *alibe* [2] *ayulas* we have a construction which is parallel with that of *alibe tökömüd* which immediately follows (8r2).

⁷⁸ For this meaning of *dalai* "ocean" cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117, n. 11, where (p. 117), however, "in einem Teheraner Dokument" is an inadvertence for "in einem vatikanischen Dokument."

⁷⁹ For *ötögen ~ etügen* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 12.

⁸⁰ For *biġügüü*, a *preteritum imperfecti* in *-ġügüü*, cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 13. (Professor Poppe, it should be observed, prefers the reading *büġüküü*.)

⁸¹ Although faint, the dative-locative suffix *-dur* and the postposition *kürtele* are visible.

⁸² For *orai* (< *horai* >) *oroi* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 14, and p. 123, n. 107.

⁸³ Although it is difficult to make anything out of the few letters that are visible in this part of line 3 from the reproduction, I think that by reference to the original something could be made of them.

⁸⁴ The first three letters of *Sul[ġarnai]* are quite visible.

⁸⁵ At the moment, I am not able to propose anything convincing for the remainder of the line.

⁸⁶ I. e., Mount Sumur.

⁸⁷ For the word *tasman* < Turkish *tasma* < Persian *تسمه* (*t(a) sma*) cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 16. It should also be noted that the word is registered in J. É. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, Tome troisième, Kasan, 1849, p. 1612b, as *tasam-a* with the definition "morceau de cuir ou de peau raclé, courroie, lanière."

⁸⁸ Professor Poppe read "ken," translating, *op. cit.*, p. 125,8b4, "wer." I think that it is *kin*, the *converbum modale* in *-n* of *ki*- "to make."

⁸⁹ Although there are partially visible two words before *kin* ("making"), I have not succeeded in deciphering them.

⁹⁰ I follow Professor Poppe in reading *[del]ekei-dür*. Cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 15.

⁹¹ Although there is partially visible a word after *kin* ("making"), I have not succeeded in deciphering it.

⁹² The verb of which *Sulqarnai* is the subject, is not sufficiently visible in the reproduction to be deciphered with any degree of certainty.

⁹³ Professor Poppe read "tere tasman-u," but the suffix is that of the accusative, -i, not that of the genitive, -u.

⁹⁴ I have not succeeded in deciphering this word.

⁹⁵ For *barusu*, a *voluntativus* in -su of *baru*- "to descend" cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 17.

⁹⁶ As for the words *nigen nō[ker-eče]*, Professor Poppe left them undeciphered. After *nigen*, we have *nō* or *noy*, hence *nō[ker]* or *noy[an]*. (See note 60 above.) As the verb at the beginning of the next line is *asaγ*- "to ask," I supply the ablative suffix -eče "from." (If we are to read *noy[an]*, the suffix is -ača.)

⁹⁷ Professor Poppe did not decipher the word [b]a between *külij[ü]* and *kürbe*, probably through an oversight, for the -a of [b]a is quite visible. While it is unusual to find the word [b]a in the position in which it is here found, the present example may be compared with that in 13v2, where we find *töreged ba ükükiü ajuγu*.

⁹⁸ For the *garudi sibayun* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 18. For another example of *garudi sibayun* cf. Bernhard Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen-Sammlung, Die Neun Märchen des Siddhi-kür nach der ausführlicheren Redaction und die Geschichte des Ardschi-Bordschi Chan*, Mongolisch mit deutscher Uebersetzung und kritischen Anmerkungen, Innsbruck, 1868, p. 49, l. 1.

⁹⁹ Professor Poppe read "sulqar[nai]," but only the first four letters are preserved, hence *Sulq[arnai]*.

¹⁰⁰ In *aqui-i* we have an accusative in -i of the *nomen futuri* in -qui of a- "to be," instead of the usual -yi. Professor Poppe translates, *op. cit.*, p. 125,8b6, "Sulkarnai . . ." and, *op. cit.*, p. 125,8b7, "Der Vogel Garuda sah, daß er war. . ." It seems to me, however, that *Sulqarnai* is the subject of the missing verb with which the auxiliary *aqui* was used and that it would be better to translate: "Der Vogel Garuda sah, daß Sulkarnai war. . ."

¹⁰¹ It is conceivable that the word *baruγju* occurred at the end of this missing part of the line. If so, *Sulq[arnai] . . . baruγju* *aqui-i* would give an excellent sense: "that Sulq[arnai] was [descending . . .]."

¹⁰² In a letter dated 27 October 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert wrote:

"On pourrait peut-être écrire *t[eyi]n [kembe]* (cf. 12r,10). En effet le *Garudi sibayun* va commencer à parler."

¹⁰³ For *γani* "foolish" cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 118, n. 19.

¹⁰⁴ The use of the pronoun twice, at the beginning as well as the end of the sentence, *či γani ajuγu či*, is characteristic of the every-day language. See notes 341 and 353 below.

¹⁰⁵ Professor Poppe read . . . *gei tere* the words which I read *deger-e* *t[ngri-deče]*. As for *deger-e*, although faint, it is, nevertheless, visible. The letters which Professor Poppe read *egei* may, in fact, so be read, but, inasmuch as the letters *ngri* of *tngri* are similarly written in this text I do not hesitate to reconstruct *t[ngri]*, especially since there is space for only one letter at the beginning of this word. While -*deče* does, in fact, resemble *tere* (cf., e.g., 11v4 and 10), it must be the suffix of the *dat.-loc.* (-de) + the *abl.* (-če), i. e., -*deče*, in this instance.

¹⁰⁶ The last quarter of the line is missing.

¹⁰⁷ My restoration (?) *öt[ögen]* is tentative. Professor Poppe read *öd*, translating, *op. cit.*, p. 125,8b8, "[*Feder?*]." The *-t-* (or *-d-*), however, is a medial, not a final form.

¹⁰⁸ If this word is correctly deciphered, I prefer to transcribe it *öndür-eče*, not *öndür-eče*, as does Professor Poppe, because the vowel of the first syllable is written as a back, not a front vowel.

¹⁰⁹ The last quarter of line 8 is missing.

¹¹⁰ The last half of line 9 is missing.

¹¹¹ Professor Poppe has "*möngke* [usu]." For "*möngke*" I prefer *mongke*, because the vowel of the first syllable is written as a back, not a front vowel. For *mongke* (= *möngke*) cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 110, with reference to *mongke* in 13r10. As to the restoration "[usu]," I hesitate to include it, because it is rather *mongke bolqu usun* "water whereby . . . shall become everlasting" which occurs in 11r2, in the third of the three episodes herein related.

¹¹² By reference to the original text it might be possible to decipher the three words of this line which are faintly visible.

¹¹³ There is trace of the *-m-* of the first word of this line.

¹¹⁴ Nothing remains of this line.

¹¹⁵ Nothing remains of this line.

¹¹⁶ This word almost certainly is *aba*, although the first point of the *a-* is missing. Cf. *aba* in 13r1.

¹¹⁷ The verb with which *aba* is used as an auxiliary occurred at the end of line 1.

¹¹⁸ By reference to the original text, it might be possible to decipher the two remaining words of this line of which the remainder is missing.

¹¹⁹ Less than a quarter of line 3 has been preserved. There is the faint trace of, at least, one letter of a word which may have been a verb.

¹²⁰ Professor Poppe read "[*m*]etü," but before [*m*]etü there is enough space to accommodate *ane*. Hence, I read [*ane m*]etü.

¹²¹ The object of *sonosu[γal]* occurred at the end of line 3.

¹²² The verb of this part of the sentence occurred in the missing lower half of the line.

¹²³ From the accusative suffix *-yi* after *dalai*, it is clear that "the ocean" is in the objective case.

¹²⁴ This word seems to begin with the letters *ye*. It might be *ye[ke]* "great."

¹²⁵ The last quarter of line 6 is missing. It might have contained the word *ügülerün* "when he spoke."

¹²⁶ Professor Poppe read "*kemen*," but, in fact, the *-e-* is missing, hence *kem[e]n*.

¹²⁷ There is but a faint trace of part of a letter of the word of which *yeke* is the attribute. The lower half of line 5 is missing.

¹²⁸ For *orasu*, a *voluntativus* in *-su* of *ora-* > *oro-* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 118, n. 20.

¹²⁹ The restoration *-dür*, I think, is reasonably certain. The space to accommodate this suffix of the dative-locative is exactly right.

¹³⁰ Professor Poppe read "*mö[re]n*." As the *-r-* is visible, I prefer to read *mör[e]n*. For *mören* "river" in the sense of "sea" cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 45, in reference to *mören* in 9v1 below.

¹³¹ It is quite likely that the accusative suffix *-yi* was attached to a *nomen futuri* such as *ügülekü* or *ügüleküi* or *ügülejü* *aqui* "what he was saying" which occurred at the end of line 6.

¹³² The rest of this sentence was in the last quarter of line 7 which is now missing.

¹⁸³ I. e., the ocean.

¹⁸⁴ Professor Poppe read "yadaba," translating, *op. cit.*, p. 126,9a8, *γaréu yadaba* "Du konntest nicht aufsteigen. . . ." This, however, contradicts what Sulqarnai himself says in 12v10: *Sumur tar-un orai deger-e γarba* which Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 128,13a10, translated: "Ich stieg auf den Gipfel des Berges Sumur." It is, therefore, obvious that the word is not *yadaba*. Of this we may be assured, if we compare it with *yadaǰu* in 11v12. The letter which Professor Poppe took for *-d-* is *-r-*. Unfortunately, the beginning of the word is faint. It is possible, however, to read either *irebe* or *oraba*. Tentatively, I prefer *irebe*.

¹⁸⁵ Most of the *b-* of *b[ürin]* is perfectly visible.

¹⁸⁶ The last quarter of line 8 is missing.

¹⁸⁷ Professor Poppe read "ara-du[r]." It seems to me inescapable, however, that we must read *[t]ere do[tor]-a* "within that," i. e., "within the ocean."

¹⁸⁸ In the restoration *[ada] tül[ige]n[-dür]*, only the suffix *[-dür]* is hypothetical. I have included it, however, because the expression *ada tüligen-dür* is attested again in 10v9. Professor Poppe correctly deciphered the *t-* and *-l-* of *tül*, but deciphered the vowel as *-o-* instead of *-ü-*. As the end of the final *-n* is visible, it is absolutely certain that the word is *tül[ige]n*. As the space between the word *do[tor]-a* and the word *tül[ige]n* is exactly right to accommodate the word *[ada]* and as the expression *ada tüligen-dür* occurs again, as I have stated, in 10v9 and *ada tüligen* occurs in 9r1, I do not hesitate to restore *[ada]*.

From Professor Poppe's translation of *ada-tan tüligen* in 8v12 as "von . . . Teufeln und Dämonen befallene . . ." (*op. cit.*, p. 126,9a12), *ada tüligen* [2] *bu bolturyai* in 9r1-2 as "so sollen keine Teufel und Dämonen sein!" (*op. cit.*, p. 126,9b1-2), and *ada tüligen-dür* in 10v9 as "den Teufeln und Dämonen" (*op. cit.*, p. 127,11a9) as well as his remarks, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 28, on the word *ada-tan* in 8v12, it is clear that he regards *ada* as here having a meaning which it indubitably has in the later written language. Cf. Kowalewski, *op. cit.*, Tome premier, Kasan, 1844, p. 64b-65a: "Ada, mauvais génie, démon qui rend aliéné et enragé: . . ." As for *tüligen*, Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 33, remarks: "Hier bedeutet es „Teufel, böser Geist“." He rightly observes (*ibid.*): "Dieses Wort fehlt in den Wörterbüchern der Schriftsprache, . . ." (The word *tülegen* ~ *tüligen* ~ *tüliyen* in Kowalewski 3.1916b, 1918a, and 1918b respectively may or may not be the same word depending upon the etymology to be established for *tüligen* in the expression *ada tüligen*. As for *tülegen* ~ *tüligen* ~ *tüliyen*, they are derivatives of the verb *tüle* ~ *tüli* "to burn." Cf. Kowalewski 3.1917a and 1918b-1919c respectively.)

The expression *ada tüligen* was first noticed and explained by Antoine Mostaert in his note on page 328 of Walter Fuchs und Antoine Mostaert, "Ein Ming-Druck einer chinesisch-mongolischen Ausgabe des Hsiao-ching," *MS* 4(1939-1940).325-329, which reads: "*ada tüligen* (?) "malheur, calamité". Cf. *Houa-i i-iu* 華夷譯語 (dans la quatrième série du *Han-fen-leou pi-ki* 涵芬樓秘笈, Shanghai, 1918) IIa, f.1, recto *qor ada* rendu par *hai houo* 害禍 "calamité, fléau." As I remarked in note 78 on page 110 of "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 . . ." (see note 1 above), the expression *ada tüligen* occurs again in 4v5-6 of the *Hsiao ching* 孝經 (unpublished), where the words *ner-e inu yeke ber bolbasu ada tüligen üli boluyu* render the Chinese 高而不危 (*kao erh pu wei*) and still again in 15v1-2, where the words *ada tüligen üli bolun* render the Chinese 災害不生 (*tsai hai pu sheng*). For still another example cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian

Inscription of 1335 in Memory of Chang Ying-jui," *HJAS* 13 (1950) 1-131 (+ Plates I-XXXV) (p. 73, l. 21): *noyan minu*. *Oločin küregen-i ene ada*

tülegen-ece aburan tonilyayulun čidayuyu "'Would I be able to save and rescue from this danger the imperial son-in-law, Oločin, my prince?'" In note 112 on page 117 of "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 . . .," I remarked: "The expression *ada tülegen* renders the single word 難 (*nan*) "difficulty" in line 16 of the Chinese text. (I neglected, however, to note that *tülegen* is a variant of *tüligen*.) I further remarked in note 78 on page 110 of "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 . . ." that the Reverend Antoine Mostaert had brought to my attention the expression *tüligen tüüdker* in the chronicle by Sayang Sečen (Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 150, line 6). The latter is also cited by Professor Poppe (*op. cit.* 119, n. 33). (I have followed Professor Poppe in here reading *tüüdker* instead of *tüütker* as in Kowalewski 3.1899b-1900a.)

Side by side with the expression *ada tüligen* there is also the expression *ada todqar*. Cf. Kowalewski 1.65a and 3.1847a: "mal causé par le démon." (In the latter reference Kowalewski reads "totkhar.") Cf. also Pentti Aalto, "A Catalogue of the Hedin Collection of Mongolian Literature," reprinted from *Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China Under the Leadership of Dr. Hedin—The Sino-Swedish Expedition—Publication 38* (Statens Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm 1953), p. 72, H. 63. The latter is also attested as *todqar ada*. Cf. N. N. Poppe, "Золотоордынская рукопись на бересте" ["Un manuscrit de la Horde d'Or écrit sur l'écorce de bouleau"], Советское востоковедение [*Soviet Orientalology*] II, Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, p. 81-136 (+ XXIV plates) (p. 102, "Фрагмент XXII" ["Fragment XXII"], "Лицевая сторона XXIIa" ["Obverse side XXIIa"], l. 5, and p. 104, l. 5), where we read: [to]d[qa]r *ada-dur buu jolγ[a]*. Professor Poppe translated these words (p. 104): «С напастями и злыми духами не встречайся, . . .» ["'With disasters and bad spirits meet (thou) not, . . .'"]. In note 9 on page 103 he discussed the words *ada* and *todqar*.

As for *ada*, it is a word of Turkish origin. Cf., e.g., W. Bang und A. von Gabain, "Analytischer Index zu den fünf ersten Stücken der Türkischen Turfan-Texte," *SPAW* 17-20 (1931) 461-517 (p. 462b): "Gefahr, Widerwärtigkeit." Cf. also the expression *ada tuda*. *Op. cit.*, p. 462b. For *tuda* cf. *op. cit.*, p. 506c: "Gefahr." In *ada tuda* we have an expression comparable to *ada tüligen* and *ada todqar* (~ *todqar ada*). W. Bang (in Verbindung mit Dr. A. von Gabain und Dr. G. R. Rachmati), "Türkische Turfantexte: VI. Das Buddhistische Sūtra Säkiz Yükmäk," *SPAW*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1934, X, pp. 1-102 (+ 1 plate), p. 69, 233, stated: "Auch *ada tuda* sind etymol. unklar; *ada* ablautend zu *id*??" For *ada* cf. also Dr. G. R. Rachmati, "Türkische Turfan-Texte VII" mit sinologischen Anmerkungen von Dr. W. Eberhard, *APAW*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Nr. 12, 1936, pp. 1-124 (+ 6 plates) (p. 100a) and *tuda*, p. 119b: "Gefahr." For *ada tuda* cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 100a and 119b. The expression *ada buu* [12] *kürtügei* occurs in lines 11-12 of the *Bičig* of Arγun of 1290, where we read: *Kiristan irgen-dür. ada buu* [12] *kürtügei*. Cf. Antoine Mostaert et Francis Woodman Cleaves, "Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes," *HJAS* 15 (1952) 419-506 (+ VIII plates) (p. 450). It was translated: "Que du mal ne soit pas fait aux peuples chrétiens!" (p. 451). In the "Commentaires" (*op. cit.*, p. 460) there is a discussion of the word *ada* in isolation and in the compounds already cited. It was observed: "Dans les dialectes vivants le mot *ada* ne s'entend plus dans l'acception "malheur, calamité, danger"."

As for *tüligen*, Professor Poppe remarked, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 33: "*tüligen* „Mühsal, Leiden" ist von *tüli-* abgeleitet." Previously, he had remarked, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 29, that: "*tüligeten* ist eine Ableitung mit dem Suffix *-tan/-ten* von *tüligen*, einem deverbalen Nomen vom Stamm *tüli-* „in Not sein, leiden", vgl. ord. *t'ulik* „besoin" (MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire ordos*, t. II, S.685) und *ǵıǵız ıwıǵı t'ımǵı t'ulıǵı jawıy-* „mender [*sic*] de porte en porte", wörtl. „Mühsal leidend gehen und bettelnd und essend sammeln" (ibid). Vgl. kirg. (kazakhisch) *tülön* „Schuld, Vergehen; der Böse" (RADLOFF, *Wörterbuch*, Bd. III, S.1570). Vgl. Anm. 33." It is not clear to me from these remarks by Professor Poppe whether he regards the verb *tüli-* from which *tüligen* is derived as being the same as the verb *tüli-* "to burn" or not. If not, it is not clear to me in what source there is attested a verb *tüli-* meaning "in Not sein, leiden." While I hesitate to propose for *tüligen* an etymology without further study of the word, it is, in my opinion, conceivable that it is a derivative from the verb *tüli-* "to burn" by means of the deverbal suffix *-gen* and that *tüligen*, in the first instance, meant "conflagration," hence "disaster."

In the light of the several examples of *ada tüligen* (∼ *tülegen*) in early texts, it seems inescapable, therefore, that we must understand *ada tüligen* in the present text in the sense of "danger and disaster" or, if one prefer, simply "danger."

¹³⁹ Professor Poppe read "gem-ten," translating, *op. cit.*, p. 126,8b10: "die mit Übel behaftet sind." Cf. also Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 118, n. 21. However, as a final *m* is not written in the manner in which the third letter of this word is written and as the following *t*, despite the hole in the paper, obviously was joined to it, the letter, therefore, is either *-b-* or *-g-*. Since it has no loop at the top, it can only be read *-g-*. It is, therefore, evident that the word is not *gem-ten*. If we read *kegten*, we have either an error for *kebten*, the *converbum modale* in *-n* of the verb *kebte-* "to lie," "to recline," in that the copyist wrote *-g-* instead of *-b-*—the same copyist wrote *basud* for *busud* at the beginning of the next line—or an anomalous orthography with *kegten* for *kebten*. When we confront the words *olan kegten buyu* of this line with the words *olan kebten buyu* of 9r1, it is tempting to conclude that we are in the presence of a copyist's error, for the phraseology is otherwise identical.

In a letter dated 18 July 1958, however, the Reverend Antoine Mostaert remarked:

"Au lieu de supposer une faute de copiste ou une "anomalous orthography" il me semble qu'il serait préférable de lire *gegden* de *gegde-* passif de *ge-* "abandonner, jeter". Pour ce mot, cf. *ge-* de l'*Hist. secrète* (Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 48). *Gegden buyu* va très bien."

Although the reading *gegden buyu* proposed by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert requires no suppositions, the reading *kegten buyu* = *kebten buyu* to me seems preferable for the reason to which I have referred above. In any case, the problem requires further study.

¹⁴⁰ Here *olan* (> *olon*) is used adverbially.

¹⁴¹ I. e., the ocean.

¹⁴² For the word *ǵüǵım* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 118, n. 22.

¹⁴³ In *čalγu[qu]* we have the *nomen futuri* in *-qu* of a verb *čalγu-* elsewhere unattested, with the exception of *[čal]γu[qu]* in line 11 below. Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 118, n. 23, regards *čalγu-* as the equivalent of the word *čalgi-* registered in Kowalewski 3.210b with the definition "éclabousser, faire paillir, arroser, baigner" and the *Ordos tš'algı-* "s'emporter, prendre le mors aux dents (cheval)" (Antoine

Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 2.692). I am inclined to the view that *čalyu-* is not to be equated with *čalgi-*, but rather with the word *jalgi-* "to swallow." For the latter cf. Kowalewski 3.2289b: "avaler, dévorer, engloutir." The alteration *č-~j-* is not unattested in Mongolian.

¹⁴⁴ In restoring [an]e, I do so with considerable conviction, for the letter -e is perfectly visible.

¹⁴⁵ Professor Poppe read "ayta" and stated, *op. cit.*, p. 118, n. 23, relative to the verb *čalyu[qu]* (see note 143 above): "Hier bezieht dieses Zeitwort auf das Pferd." He translated, *op. cit.*, p. 126,9a10: "Dein Wallach wird alles zerstampfen." It is clear, however, that the word *ayta* is followed by a suffix beginning with the letter *y-*, hence, I restore -y[i]. If this restoration is correct, *ayta* is the object, not the subject, of the verb *čalyu[qu]*. The *ayta* in question, presumably, is the famous Bucephalus.

¹⁴⁶ For *gürisi*, an accusative in -i of a plural in -s of *güri* "stone," cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 118, n. 24.

¹⁴⁷ The words *ger-ün tedüi gürüsi* recall the words *qošılıy-un tedüi čayan gürüi* in *The Secret History of the Mongols* §80 (YCPS 2.15v1-3), where we read of Temüjin: *basa yarču ayısuquı-tur šıyui-yin amasar-a qošılıy-un tedüi čayan gürüi amasar-a böglen unaju'u*. "Again, at the moment when he was drawing nigh to go out, at the outlet of the forest a white rock the size of a tent fell in the outlet, stopping [it]." Further, in the same passage (YCPS 2.16r1-2), we read: *tere amasar böglen unarşan qošılıy-un tedüi čayan gürüi horčin* "Round about that white rock the size of a tent, which was fallen, stopping the outlet, . . ."

¹⁴⁸ Professor Poppe reads "bisud." As the word stands, it can only be read *basud* or *besüd*. Cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 118, n. 25. It seems to me that in *basud* we have nothing more than a copyist's error for *busud*, the -u- of *bu-*, being omitted. In fact, *busud* in 10v7 below looks almost like *basud*.

¹⁴⁹ For *teimün* (*~teyimün*) cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119, n. 26, and also Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1346," *HJAS* 15(1952).1-123 (+ Plates I-XII) (p. 119, n. 261).

¹⁵⁰ For *marun*, a plural in -n of *marui* (*~maru*) "bad" cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 27. Cf. also Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The *Bodistwa Čari-a Awatar-un tayılbur* of 1312 by Čosgi Odsir," *HJAS* 17(1954).1-129 (+ Plates I-XXIV) (p. 90, n. 19, where "see note 104 below" is an error for "see note 102 below").

¹⁵¹ Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 28, is not correct.

¹⁵² Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 29, is not entirely correct.

¹⁵³ For *görüged*, a plural in -d of *görügesün*, cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 30.

¹⁵⁴ For the words *olan keften buyu* cf. the words *olan keften buyu* in 9r10.

¹⁵⁵ For *toy-a tomsi* = *toy-a tomsi ügei* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 31.

¹⁵⁶ For this use of *bürün* cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338 in Memory of Jigünteı," *HJAS* 14(1951).1-104 (+ Plates I-XXXII) (p. 75, n. 23).

¹⁵⁷ For *orabasu*, a conditional in -basu of *ora-* "to enter," cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 32.

¹⁵⁸ Professor Poppe translated, *op. cit.*, p. 126,9b1-2, the words *ada tüligen* [2] *bu boltuyai* in lines 1-2: "so sollen keine Teufel und Dämonen sei." As I have demonstrated in note 138 above, *ada tüligen* means "danger and disaster" or, simply, "danger."

¹⁵⁹ In *agüdke*[s]gü[b]e in lines 2-3—Professor Poppe transcribed “egüdke-gül[be],” but the tail of the *e* is visible—we have the *praeteritum perfecti* in *-[b]e*—as a matter of fact, a trace of the *b*, though faint, is visible—of *agüdkegül-*, a causative in *-gül-* of *agüdke-*, a causative in *-ke-* of *agüd-* (= *egüd-*) which Kowalewski (1.241b-242b) defined: “contruire, bâtir, ériger: ²produire, faire, créer, inventer.” In a letter dated 29 September 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert observed:

“... Bien que *egüd-* soit parfois employé au sens de “produire”, le sens propre en est “commencer à être, commencer à exister”. Cf. ord. *ūw-*, kalm. *ūd-* (Ramstedt, 461a). *Egüdke-* est donc “faire commencer à être, c’est-à-dire “produire, fabriquer”. *Egüdkegül-* est donc “faire fabriquer, faire construire”. Cf. aussi le khalkha *üüdek* chez Rinčine, p. 247b.”

For an analogous instance of the fracture of a word in the writing cf. *ongyača*[7]čina (“to the boatmen”) in the Safe Conduct of Abaγ-a of (?)1267/(?)1279 (Mostaert et Cleaves, *op. cit.*, p. 433, ll. 6-7.)

¹⁶⁰ Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 34, remarked: “*qaraba* ist das arabische Wort قارب *qārib* „Boot”. Dieses Lehnwort kommt sonst in keinem mongolischen Text vor.”

It seems to me, however, that this etymology is questionable for two reasons: (1) the phonological development from *qārib* to *qaraba* is difficult to explain and (2) there is no evidence from any of the known versions of the Romance that Alexander went to the bottom of the sea in a boat. Inasmuch as the Greek text has *ἔσωθεν δὲ τοῦ κλωβοῦ εἰσενεχθῆναι παμμεγέθῃ ὑέλινον πλῖνον, ἔχοντα τὸ πάχος σπιθαμῇ μίαν* [“and within the cage an immense glass wine-jar to be brought in, having one span in thickness”], I am inclined to the view that in *qaraba* we have the Persian word *qarāba*. Cf. F. Steingass, Ph.D., *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, Third Impression, London, 1947, p. 960b: “—*qarrābat*, in. [sic] P. *qarāba*, A large flagon or vessel having two handles and a spout (made of glass, in which wine is left standing forty days in order to refine); . . .”

Cf. also Col. Henry YULE, R.E., C.B., LL.D., and the late Arthur Coke BURNELL, Ph.D., C.I.E., *Hobson-Jobson, being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms; Etymological, Historical, Geographical, and Discursive*, London, 1886, p. 125a:

“**Carboy**, s. A large glass bottle holding several gallons, and generally covered with wicker-work, well-known in England, where it is chiefly used to convey acids and corrosive liquids in bulk. Though this is not an Anglo-Indian word, it comes (in the form of *karāba*) from Persia, as Wedgwood has pointed out. Kaempfer, whom we quote from his description of the wine trade at Shiraz, gives an exact etching of a carboy. Littré mentions that the late M. Mohl referred *caraffe* to the same original; but see that word. *Karāba* is no doubt connected with Ar. *ķirba*, ‘a large leathern milk-bottle.’”

For the Arabic form I am indebted to Professor Richard N. Frye who referred me to R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Tome second, Leyde, E. J. Brill, 1881, p. 323a:

“قَرَابَة ou قَرَابَة (voyez Vullers) sorte de boîte dans laquelle ou transporte des pommes;—sert aussi à transporter de l’eau, outre? de Jong.”

¹⁶¹ Lit., “to be contained.”

¹⁶² For *torlayulba*, the *praeteritum perfecti* in *-ba* of *torlayul-* “to cause to net,” cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 35.

¹⁶³ This word may be *dalan* "seventy" or an adjective qualifying *toor* "net."

¹⁶⁴ For *toor* ~ *tor* < Uighur Turkish *tor* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 35.

¹⁶⁵ In *to tomγayulba* we have, it would seem, an instance in which the copyist, having begun to write *tomγayulba*, was distracted, after writing the letters *to*, and, upon the resumption of his writing, began the word anew. Hence, *to* should be removed from the text.

See also note 167 below in reference to *to tor-a tomsi*. For still another example cf. N. N. Poppe, Золотоордынская рукопись . . . ("Un manuscrit de la Horde d'Or . . ."), p. 106, Фрагмент XXIII ["Fragment XXIII"], Лицевая сторона XXIIIa ["Obverse side XXIIIa"], ll. 1-4:

[1] *yorčisu ake albür ake minu a*

[2] *ölenggün abes-ün öleḡgüre kürbe*

[3] *öner sadun agü agüsür-e [kü]rbe*

[4] *örüg nuntur-turiyan agüssü*

[1] [I] shall depart. Mother, oh my dear mother!

[2] The grass of the *öleng* is come to grow into *öleng*.

[3] [Our] numerous kindred are come to arise.

[4] [I] shall arise in my quiet encampment.

For the interesting word *albür* (= *elbür*) cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 97, l. 7. For the verb *ölengüre* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 107, n. 4. As for the words *öner sadun* which he translated, *op. cit.*, p. 108, "близкие друзья" ["close friends"], cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 107, n. 5. In *agü agüsür-e* we have another instance in which the copyist, being distracted, left unfinished the word which he had begun to write and began the same word anew.

As for *tomγayulba*, Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 40, remarked: "*tomγayulba* ist ein kausatives Zeitwort, das von *tomγa* = mo. *tomo-* „fletchten" abgeleitet ist." I very much doubt that *tomγa*- can be equated with *tomo-*. It seems to me that in *tomγayulba* we are confronted with three possibilities: (1) we have the *praeteritum perfecti* in *-ba* of *tomγayul-*, a *causativus* in *-γul-* of *tomγa-*, itself a *causativus* in *-γa-* of **tom-* ~ *tomo-* or (2) we have the *praeteritum perfecti* in *-ba* of *tomγayul-*, a *causativus* in *-γul-* of *tomγa-*, an incorrect orthography of *tomoγa-*, itself a *causativus* in *-γa-* of *tomo-* "to twist," "to plait," or (3) we have the *praeteritum perfecti* in *-ba* of *tomγayul-*, a *causativus* in *-γul-* of *tomγa-*, itself a *causativus* in *-γa-* of *tom-* = *toma-* (~ *tomo-*) "to twist," "to plait." For the orthography *tomγayulba* = *tomaγayulba* cf. that of *ḡiryalngyi* = *ḡiryalangyi* in 12v7 below and *kembe* = *kemebe* in 11r1 below. I am inclined to the view that the third of the three possibilities is the explanation of the form *tomγayulba* of this text. The word *tomγayulba* literally means "he caused to cause to twist."

¹⁶⁶ For the expression *deges[ün]* [5] *tomγayul-* "to cause to cause to twist ropes" cf. N. N. Poppe, Монгольский словарь Мукаддимат ал-Адаб [Mongolian Dictionary Mukaddimat al-Adab] Часть I-II [Part I-II], Труды Института Востоковедения XIV [Works of the Institute of Orientalology], Академия Наук СССР [Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.], Moscow-Leningrad, 1938, p. 316b: "s. [= *sajn* — F.W.C.] *tomaba dēsüni* . . . хорошо сучил веревку ['twisted a rope well'] . . ."; p. 340b: "*tomuba dēsüni* . . . сучил нитку ['twisted thread'] . . ."; and p. 350b: "*t. [= tomuba — F.W.C.] d[ē]süni* . . . сучил веревку ['twisted thread'] . . ."

¹⁶⁷ In *to tor-a tomsi*, as in the case of *to tomγayulba* above, we have an instance

in which the copyist, having begun to write *toγ-a*, was distracted, after writing the letters *to* which should be removed from the text.

¹⁶⁸ In restoring *d[arustal]-a*, the *converbum terminale* in *-tal-a* of *darus-* "to finish," I do so with all reserve. Only the first letter (*d-* or *t-*) and the last letter (*-a* or *-e*) of this word are visible.

¹⁶⁹ For *mod*, a plural in *-d* of *modun*, cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 36.

¹⁷⁰ For *oraγu*, the *converbum imperfecti* in *-γu* of *ora-* (> *oro-*) "to enter," cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 42.

¹⁷¹ Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 126, 9b5, translated the words *qaraba abdur-a-dur oraγu bür[ün]* "Als er in das Boot, in die Kiste, hineinstieg, . . ." From this it is clear that he regarded *qaraba abdur-a-dur* as the equivalent of *qaraba-dur abdur-a-dur*. It seems to me, however, that *qaraba abdur-a-dur* means "into the *qaraba* box," i. e., "into the box [which was in the form of a] *qaraba*." (For *qaraba* see note 160 above.) This interpretation derives support, in part, from the passage in E. E. Bertel's, Роман об Александре и его главные версии на востоке [*Romance about Alexander and its Principal Versions in the East*] Институт Востоковедения [Institute of Orientology], Академия Наук СССР [Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.], Moscow-Leningrad, 1948, p. 93, to which Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 41, referred. It reads as follows: "Строят корабль, а также изготовляют большой продолговатый стеклянный ящик, в котором Искендер хочет спуститься на морское дно." ["They build a ship, and also fabricate a big, elongated, glass box, in which Iskender wants to descend to the bottom of the sea."] (See, further, the "Introduction," p. 19.)

For *abdur-a* ~ *abdar-a* "box" cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 41.

¹⁷² Only the tail of the *-a* or *-e* of one word in the last quarter of line 5 is visible.

¹⁷³ For the word *tege-* "to load" cf. Kowalewski 3.1742b: "charger le fumier sur le chariot."

¹⁷⁴ Although I have not found the expression *idegen künesün* elsewhere attested, it may be compared with the expression *amun künesün* ("millet and provisions") in line 23 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362. Cf. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 . . .," p. 64.

¹⁷⁵ For the orthography *job*, instead of *jöb*, cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 43. It is first attested in line 15 of the *Biçig* of Arγun of 1290 to Nicholas IV (cf. Mostaert et Cleaves, *op. cit.*, p. 450). Cf. also Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 111, with reference to *job* in 12v12.

Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 126, 9b6, translated the words *job idegen künesün* "geegnetes Proviant." For *job* meaning "in sufficient quantity" cf. the Ordos *džöb* "en quantité suffisante" in the example "*mani ene k'ünesu džöb bānā* nos provisions de bouche que voici sont en quantité suffisante" (Antoine Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 1.212a).

In a letter dated 29 September 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert remarked:

" . . . *K'ünesu džöb bānā* "les provisions de bouche pour la route sont en quantité suffisante" s'entend très souvent dans ce dialecte."

In another letter dated 18 July 1958 he further remarked:

" . . . *Job* (*džöb*), bien que pouvant être traduit en français par "en quantité suffisante", signifie proprement "possédant la qualité d'être en quantité suffisante". "Nos provisions de bouche que voici sont en quantité suffisante" veut dire "Nos provisions de bouche que voici sont possédant la qualité d'être en quantité suffisante"."

¹⁷⁶ Inasmuch as the *d*- and *-t* of this word are visible, I think that the restoration *ḏ[o]t[or-a]* is reasonably certain.

¹⁷⁷ The last quarter of line 6 is missing.

¹⁷⁸ I follow Professor Poppe in restoring (?) *y[abuba]*.

¹⁷⁹ The last quarter of line 7 is missing.

¹⁸⁰ In reconstructing *odcu* [*bürü*]*n* I have been guided by the fact that in line 5 we have *oraju bür[ün]* and in line 7 *uyaju bür[ün]*.

¹⁸¹ The second half of line 8 is missing.

¹⁸² The substantive after *nigen* was in the missing second half of line 8.

¹⁸³ Only the faint trace of a letter or two is visible in the upper third of line 9. The rest of the line is missing.

¹⁸⁴ The words of the speaker are missing, all, with the possible exception of one word at the beginning of line 10, being in the missing lower two-thirds of line 9.

¹⁸⁵ Although Professor Poppe read "*sul[qarnai]*," as the *-u-* of this name is not visible, I prefer to read *S[u]l[qarnai]*.

¹⁸⁶ The lower two-thirds of line 10 is missing.

¹⁸⁷ While it is true, as Professor Poppe states, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 44, that "*soyur-qarḡaḡu sieht wie soyurqarḡu aus*," I think that it is because the *-a-* of *-ḡa* is poorly written.

¹⁸⁸ I supply the words *tngrī-de* at the end of line 10 on the basis of *tngrī de soyurqarḡaḡu* in 7r6.

¹⁸⁹ The lower two-thirds of line 11 is missing.

¹⁹⁰ This word clearly is *ügüleb[e]* or *ügüleb[esü]*, not *ügüleḡü*, as Professor Poppe read it.

¹⁹¹ The lower two-thirds of line 12 are missing. It is likely that the text, *in parte*, read: *bi Sumur t[ar]-un orai deḡer-e ḡarba* (Cf. 12v10.) "I [ascended upon the peak of] M[ount] Sumur."

¹⁹² I follow Professor Poppe in supplying [*-tur*] after *iruḡar*.

For *iruḡar* < **hiruḡar* (> *hiru'ar*) cf. Poppe, *Introduction*, pp. 43 and 161.

¹⁹³ The remaining two thirds of line 1 is missing.

¹⁹⁴ Here, as in line 7 below, we must read *aisu*, not *ḡarsu*. In this instance, therefore, Professor Poppe's remarks, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 46, are not pertinent. For *aisu* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 50.

¹⁹⁵ The remaining two thirds of line 2 is missing.

¹⁹⁶ The words *tngrī ḡaḡar* often appear in conjunction in early texts. Cf., e.g., *tenggeri ḡaḡar* in *The Secret History of the Mongols* §§113, 121, 125, 208, 224, 254, 260 (2), and 281.

¹⁹⁷ The remaining three quarters of line 3 is missing.

¹⁹⁸ Professor Poppe read "*ḡsan* (?)". We must, however, read *ane* (= *ene*).

¹⁹⁹ Professor Poppe read "*dalai*." In his letter of 5 October 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert remarked:

"Il me semble qu'il n'est pas sûr qu'il faille lire *dalai*. La tête d'un *d* est toujours arrondie. Ici la première lettre ressemble un peu à un *q*."

Tentatively, I read *alči* (= *elči*) "messenger."

²⁰⁰ After *alči* (= *elči*) ("messenger") part of a word is visible. The remaining three quarters of line 4, however, is missing.

²⁰¹ For *bolad* (> *bolod*) < Persian بولاد (*pūlād*) cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 47.

Cf. also Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Mongolian Documents in the Musée de Téhéran," *HJAS* 16(1953).1-107 (+ Plates I-II) (pp. 46-47, n. 9).

²⁰² For *üdesi* (*üde* + *-si*) as an equivalent of *üde* "evening" cf. *üdesi manaryar* "evening or morning" in line 16 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335. Cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 in Memory of Chang Ying-jui," *HJAS* 13(1950).1-131 (+ Plates I-XXXV) (p. 72, l. 16). Cf. also Antoine Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages*, pp. [302]-[303].

²⁰³ For *jolurya* ~ *jolγa*- cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 48.

²⁰⁴ Professor Poppe read "edür," translating "üdesi edür," *op. cit.*, p. 126,10a6, "in der Abendhälfte des Tages." However, following the Reverend Antoine Mostaert, who remarked in a letter dated 27 August 1957, "je lis *üdesi nadur* au lieu de *üdesi edür* de M. Poppe," I have adopted the reading *nadur* instead of "edür."

²⁰⁵ The remaining half of line 6 is missing.

²⁰⁶ For *kürsü*, a *voluntativus* in *-sü* of *kür*-, cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 49.

²⁰⁷ For *[qu]rdun-a* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 51.

²⁰⁸ Professor Poppe read "urida." However, as the initial vowel is written *ü*-, not *u*-, I prefer to read *ürida*.

²⁰⁹ The last quarter of line 7 is missing, but the beginning of the initial letter of the word after *qari* is visible.

²¹⁰ Although the last quarter of this line is missing, it is obvious that after *ane ü[gle]-yi* there appeared the name *Sulqarnai*. For this pattern cf. *tere üge-yi Sulqarnai* [12] *sonosču büürin* in 10v11-12.

²¹¹ The reading *ü[gle]* was proposed by my student, Mr. Hongor Oulanoff, a nephew of "Sandji Bajanow," on 18 October 1957. To this I have added the accusative suffix *[-yi]*.

²¹² For *olasun* ~ *olosun* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 52.

²¹³ Only the *γ*- of what may have been *γ[arba]* is visible. I propose this translation, therefore, with every reserve.

²¹⁴ The last quarter of line 9 is missing.

²¹⁵ In *kü kü* we have a dittography. The second *kü* should be removed from the text.

²¹⁶ I follow Professor Poppe in this restoration, but as the *γ*- of *γ[arču]* is visible, I prefer to read *γ[arču d]arγusba*.

²¹⁷ For *üjegsenigen*, the accusative of the reflexive-possessive in *-igen* of *üjegsen*, the *nomen perfecti* in *-gsen* of *üje*- "to see" cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 54.

²¹⁸ For *dotor-a-qi*, i. e., *dotor-a* + *-qi* (> *-ki*), cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 53.

²¹⁹ Although Professor Poppe transcribed "dalai," only the letters *d-a-l* are visible. In view of the fact that we have *dotor-a-qi* in the next line, it is almost certain that the genitive suffix should be restored after *dal[ai]*, hence the restoration *dal[ai-in]*.

²²⁰ In *bügedei* we have an accusative in *-i* of *bügede* "all." Cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 55. In 11v3 we find *bügedeyi*, an accusative in *-yi* of *bügede*. For the position of *bügüdei* in the construction *üjegsenigen бүгүdei* and that of *bügüdeyi* in the construction *ali-be üjegseni-in . . . бүгүdeyi* (11v2-3) cf. the words *tendeče Ĵelme maγalai γudusun de'el qubčasun-ıyan бүгүde-yi talju . . .* "Thereupon, Ĵelme putting off his hat, boots, and garments—everything—, . . ." in *The Secret History of the Mongols* §145 (YCPS 4.39v1-2) and *qu[b]časun minu бүгүde-yi talju . . .* "putting off my garments—everything—, . . .," *op. cit.* §145 (YCPS 4.42r4).

²²¹ Lit., "telling gave." If I restore *ü[giilejü]* instead of *ü[giülen]*, as does Professor

Poppe, it is because we have *ügülejü ögbe* in 11r12 below. It seems, therefore, that *ü[giülejü]* [12] *ögbe* would be more acceptable in this instance.

²²² For *sonasču*, the *converbum imperfecti* in *-ču* of *sonas-sonos-* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 56.

²²³ In his letter of 5 October 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert remarked:

"Je pense qu'il faut lire *γaigalduba*. Le copiste a placé la "corne" (mo. *eber*) du *l* trop bas, tout comme dans *olan*, premier mot de 10v10."

²²⁴ Professor Poppe read "tein." As the text has *teyin*, his observation, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 57, in this instance, is not *ad rem*. It is applicable, however, to *tein* in 11r12.

²²⁵ In *kijü*, the *converbum imperfecti* in *-jü* of *ki-* "to do," we have the converb used as a *verbum finitum*. Cf. also *teyin kijü* in 12r12.

²²⁶ Lit., "there being one so much." In other words, "soon after."

²²⁷ Professor Poppe read "*quriγaju(?)*," but the question mark may certainly be removed. For *quriγaju*, the *converbum imperfecti* in *-ju* of *quriγa-* a *causativus* in *-γa-* of *quri-* "to assemble" (*v. intr.*), cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 58. See note 255 below relative to *quriγaju* in 10r11 below.

²²⁸ Professor Poppe read the last word of 9v13 "*ay-a*⁵⁰" and the first word of 10r1 "*inturun*⁶⁰." These readings, however, are not correct. Instead, we must read *ay-e* (= *ey-e*) *ayetürin* (= *eyetürin*), the expression *ay-e ayetü-* (= *ey-e eyetü-*) meaning "to counsel counsel." For analogous expressions in *The Secret History of the Mongols* cf. *ča'ur ča'ura-* "to campaign a campaign" (Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 26), *qurim qurimla-* "to feast a feast," i.e., "to hold a feast" (Haenisch, *op. cit.*, p. 73), etc. As *ay-e* is nothing more than an orthographic variant of *ey-e*, Professor Poppe's observation, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 59, therefore, requires modification. From a letter dated 5 August 1957, I learned from Professor Poppe that he had independently corrected the reading *inturun* to *eyetürin*. In a subsequent letter dated 26 August 1957 he stated: "*Ey-e eyetü-* is very good: cf. *sedkil sedki-*, *sanarγa sana-* etc." Professor Poppe's remarks relative to the "mo. *intu-*," *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 60, also require modification, because, as he himself, informed me in his letter of 26 August 1957, it is based on the word *indu-* registered in Mr. Matthew Haltod, Mr. D. Wangchindorji, Mrs. Geshigtogdaho Fu, Miss Vera McGillivray and S. J. Gunzel, *Mongol-English Practical Dictionary with English Word Reference List*, The Evangelical Alliance Mission, 1949-1953, p. 62a. The latter word, however, is an error for *eyetü-*. As a matter of fact, Kowalewski 2.279a, also has the incorrect forms (?)*induqu*/ (?)*intuqu* and (?)*indükü*/ (?)*intükü*. As he did not transcribe the word, it is impossible to know whether he read *d* or *t*. The forms (/)*indulduqu*/ (?)*intulduqu* and (?)*indülčekü*/ (?)*intülčekü* in the following entry in Kowalewski 2.279a also are incorrect. The form "*itulduba*" of the Монгольский словарь Мукаддимат ал-Адаб [*Mongolian Dictionary Mukaddimat al-Adab*], p. 199a, as indicated by Professor Poppe in his letter of 5 August as well as that of 26 August, must be corrected to *eyetüldübe*.

For the verb *eyetü-* in *The Secret History of the Mongols* cf. Haenisch, *op. cit.*, p. 48. For the same verb in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* cf. Antoine Mostaert, *Scripta Mongolica II*, Part I, p. 74.

²²⁹ For *aytun*, imperative of the 2nd pers. pl. in *-γtun* of *a-* "to be," cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 62.

²³⁰ For *sonosču* ~ *sonasču* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. 61.

²³¹ Although the *a* (= *e*) of the word *adüge* (= *edüge*) is smudged so that the initial letter appears to be *o* or *u*, the word obviously is *adüge* (= *edüge*).

²³² Professor Poppe read “ene.” However, the word indubitably is *an*, the *converbum modale* in -*n* of *a*- “to be,” not *ene* which is written *ane* throughout the text. Cf., e.g., 11r10 and 11v8. The words *bi* . . . *duradču an buyu* literally mean “I . . . am being remembering.” Another example of the rare form *an* is found in line 9 of the *Bičig* of Öljeitü of 1305.

²³³ The word *nigen* is written in the upper margin of the sheet and tilted somewhat to the left, a fact which indicates that the copyist omitted it and inserted it later.

²³⁴ For *singgeldüsü*, a *voluntativus* in -*sü* of *singgeldü-*, cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 64.

²³⁵ For the expression *naran äke* (= *eke*) cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 63.

²³⁶ I.e., as far as the darkness goes.

²³⁷ For *qarangyu* ~ *qarangyui* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 65.

²³⁸ For *qolaba* [4] *oyir-a-ba* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 66.

²³⁹ Professor Poppe read “singgegsen(?)” In a letter dated 5 October 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert remarked:

“Une lecture *singgegsen* ne peut être la correcte, parce que le *n* final ne s’écrit pas de cette manière. La dernière lettre est *ng*. Je pense qu’il faut lire *singgeleng*. Pour la forme de ce mot, cf. *jobalang*, *žiryalang* de *žoba-*, *žirya-*. *Jobalang*, *žiryalang* est respectivement “le fait de souffrir”, “le fait de se réjouir”. *Singgeleng*, de *singge-* doit vouloir dire “coucher”, c’est-à-dire “le fait de se coucher” (dit du soleil).”

²⁴⁰ The words *yambar* [5] *yosutu büjügüi* may be compared with the words *yambar yosun bolumui* “What manner is it?” in *The Secret History of the Mongols* §245 (YCPS 10.36v2).

²⁴¹ Or *noy[ad]*, but not “no[yad],” as Professor Poppe reads.

²⁴² The last quarter of line 5 is missing.

²⁴³ With the exception of the faint trace of a letter or two the last quarter of line 6 is missing.

²⁴⁴ For the word *deligetü* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 68.

²⁴⁵ Professor Poppe read “[keme]n.” I read [kem]en, however, because the -*e* of the second syllable is perfectly visible.

²⁴⁶ In *odsu* we have a *voluntativus* in -*su* of *od-* “to go.”

²⁴⁷ For *jug* (= *jüg*) cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 69.

²⁴⁸ Professor Poppe read: “am qadi⁷⁰(?)” As the text clearly has *ane* (= *ene*) *sedk*, I restore the second word as *sedk[i]*. Professor Poppe’s remarks relative to “qadi,” *op. cit.*, p. 109, and p. 121, n. 70, therefore, require modification.

²⁴⁹ The last quarter of line 7 is missing.

²⁵⁰ Professor Poppe read “s[ulqarnai],” but, as the first two letters of the name are visible, I read *Su[lqarnai]*.

²⁵¹ The lower half of line 8 is missing.

²⁵² For *daγadqum*, an imperative of the 2nd pers. pl. in -*dqun*, cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 71.

²⁵³ The rest of line 9 is missing.

²⁵⁴ With the exception of the beginning of the initial letter of the word following *ž-e*, the rest of this line is missing.

²⁵⁵ This is a *verbum transitivum*. For *quriyažu* see note 147 above.

²⁵⁶ The object of *quriyaĵu* was in the missing part of line 10.

²⁵⁷ The lower half of line 11 is missing.

²⁵⁸ Professor Poppe read "oroĵu." I doubt that this is correct. If it is, it is the only instance in the text in which we have *oro-* instead of *ora-*. In any case, the word does not resemble *oraĵu*. Cf. *oraĵu* in 9r5 and 7. My own reading *baĵuĵu* is tentative. I think that it is still another word.

²⁵⁹ The lower half of line 12 is missing.

²⁶⁰ In his letter of 5 October 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert remarked:

"... Je pense qu'il faut lire: *qarangγu-in am[asar] ou am[asar-a]*. Cf. 11b3-4 *qarangγu-in amasar-a ayisuqu-dur*."

²⁶¹ Although I follow Professor Poppe in reading *or[aĵ]u*, I am not convinced that this word is correctly read.

²⁶² Professor Poppe read "[us]un-du," translating, *op. cit.*, p. 127, 11a1, "Ins [Wasser]." Although the word which he read "[us]un" is smudged and partially obliterated, it clearly is *nöked*, not *usun*, as can be seen from a comparison of this word with *nöked* and *usun* respectively in lines 7 and 11 below. As the suffix of the dative-locative in *-du* occurs nowhere else in this text, it seems clear that we must read *-tü*, hence *nöked-tü* and, in fact, *nökedtü* has already been encountered in 7v11 above.

From the context of this episode of Sulqarnai's descent into the land of darkness, it is evident that Sulqarnai did not enter it through water and that he was accompanied on his descent by some of his *nöked*.

²⁶³ With the exception of the trace of a letter after the word *or[aĵ]u*, the rest of line 1 is missing.

²⁶⁴ With the exception of the trace of the initial letter of a word *tere*, the rest of line 2 is missing.

²⁶⁵ The rest of line 3 is missing.

²⁶⁶ This is *kemen ügülebe* in line 11 below.

²⁶⁷ Professor Poppe read "in," the suffix of the genitive (*-in*). Although faint, the word assuredly is *ane* (= *ene*).

²⁶⁸ With the exception of the faint trace of two or three letters, the rest of line 4 is missing.

²⁶⁹ Something mentioned in line 4 above.

²⁷⁰ In *-ban* we have a suffix of the reflexive-possessive, which, in this instance, probably is an accusative.

²⁷¹ The lower half of line 5 is missing.

²⁷² I follow Professor Poppe in restoring *ya[buba]*. As the *-a-* in the first syllable is visible, I read *ya[buba]*, not *y[abuba]*. As a matter of fact, the back of the first *-b-* also is visible.

²⁷³ The last quarter of line 6 is missing.

²⁷⁴ If I venture to restore *üres* as the last word of line 7, I do so, because the occurrence of the words *ade üresi* (acc.) "these seeds" in the next line almost certainly suggests that *üres* occurred at the end of line 7. For *üres* see note 277 below.

²⁷⁵ Professor Poppe read this suffix as *"-yi"* (acc.). I read it as *-y[ī]n* (gen.), because, if we compare it with the suffix *-yi* in line 11 below, it is clear that the *i* is not a final *-i*, but a medial *-i-*. For *-yin* cf., e.g., *-yin* in 9v8.

²⁷⁶ Professor Poppe translated, *op. cit.*, p. 127, 11a8, *aran* as "die Leute" and explained the word, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 73, as "*aran* „Mann, Mensch" auch „Leute",

vgl. *haran* „Mann, Leute“ in der *Geheimen Geschichte* (HAENISCH, *Wörterbuch*, S.74),” I am inclined to the view, however, that in *aran* we have not the substantive *aran* (<*haran*) “people,” but the adverb *aran* (~*arai*) “just,” “just now,” “hardly,” “scarcely,” etc. As a matter of fact, the expression *aran üje-* is attested once in *The Secret History of the Mongols* §94 (YCPS 2.37r1-2): *aran üjeba je čimayi*. ‘And now [I] have hardly seen thee.’ For an example of *aran* in the *Altan tobči*, cf. C. R. Bawden, *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči*, Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, Band 5, Wiesbaden, 1955, p. 127, n. 2.

²⁷⁷ For *üresi*, an accusative in *-i* of *üres*, plural in *-s* of *üre* “seed” cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 72. The word *üre*, as there remarked by Professor Poppe, means: “Samen, Frucht, Nachkommen, Kinder.” It is true, as he further remarks, that “Welches von diesen vier hier gemeint ist, läßt sich schwer entscheiden, weil die Stelle beschädigt ist.”

In translating [*üres*] in line 7 above and *üresi* here as “seeds,” I do so tentatively and with every reservation.

²⁷⁸ The last quarter of line 8 is missing. It is possible that it contained the words *nöked činu* “thy *nöked*.”

²⁷⁹ In restoring *b[olba]*, I do so on a tentative basis.

²⁸⁰ Whether we should read *öri* or *nöri* is difficult to say. For a discussion of these words cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 74.

²⁸¹ For *ütü* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 75.

²⁸² For *berkes*, a plural in *-s* of *berke* “difficult,” cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122, n. 76. Professor Poppe there remarks: “Da der Satz unvollständig ist, bleibt die syntaktische Funktion dieses Wortes unklar. Da es ein Pluralzeichen hat, so fungiert dieses Wort wahrscheinlich nicht als Attribut zu *γaγar-a*, obgleich manchmal Konstruktionen vorkommen, in denen das Pluralzeichen nicht am Ende des Hauptwortes, sondern am Ende des Eigenschaftswortes steht. . . .” He adds: “Ich nehme an, daß *berkes* hier ein Hauptwort ist, d.h. „Schwierigkeiten“ bedeutet und syntaktisch in demselben Verhältnis zum hier fehlenden Prädikat steht wie *ada tüligen-dür* „den Teufeln und Dämonen“.”

It should be observed, however, that *berkes* is not the only adjective in this text which has a plural suffix. Cf. e.g., *mingγan čaγaγad terigüten abügedi* in 13r8 below, *mingγan jalarys sayid abaldurčei bökes-i* in 13r5 below, and *mingγan narid okidi* in 13r3 below. While it is true that in the name *Berke Eled* (“Difficult Sands”) in the *Secret History* §166 (YCPS 5.40r5) and in the expression *berke čöl-nuγud-i* (“the difficult deserts”) in line 23 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 the plural suffix in *-s* is not used, it is undeniable, nevertheless, that *berke* is used attributively. I consider, therefore, that in the expression *berkes γaγar-a* it is also used attributively.

²⁸³ See note 158 above.

²⁸⁴ If the restoration *b[olba]* is correct, it is probable that not more than one word is missing at the end of line 9, possibly *ǰ-e*.

²⁸⁵ For *bitügdesen*, a *nomen perfecti* in *-sen* (<*-gsen*) of *bitügde-*, a *passivus* in *-gde-* of *bitü-*, cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 122, n. 77.

²⁸⁶ Lit., “speaking gave.”

²⁸⁷ This is *kemen ügüleǰübürin* in 11r3.

²⁸⁸ In *γuyildusu* we have the *voluntativus* in *-su* of *γuyildu-*, the reciprocal form in *-ldu-* of *γuyi-* “to request.” In this instance, however, the reciprocal form *γuyildu-* is employed exactly like the comitative form in *-lča-*, i. e., *γuyilča-*.

Oulanoff on 28 October 1957, the γ of $-\gamma da-$, the suffix of the passive, was omitted by the copyist. Hence I read *soyurqa*[γ]da γ san.

³⁰⁰ Professor Poppe restored "[*tngr*-de \dot{c} e]." However, on the basis of *tngr*-de *soyurqa* γ daju in 7r6, I prefer to restore [*tngr*-de].

³⁰¹ At least, one word between *či* and [*tngr*-de] in the last quarter of line 5 is missing.

³⁰² Professor Poppe read "u[γ ju]." However, as the $-\gamma$ - is visible, I read *u*[γ]ju].

³⁰³ As part of the tail of the final $-e$ of *keḡige* is visible, I prefer to read *keḡige*. For *keb keḡige* instead of *keb keḡiye* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 122, n. 86, where his remarks are in reference to the occurrence of the same expression in 11v11 below. As Professor Poppe rightly indicates, *keb* is "ein Verstärkungsadverbium." Cf. also the Reverend Antoine Mostaert *apud* Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 . . .," p. 101, n. 34: "Cette manière de renforcer l'expression était déjà usitée en mongol ancien. Ex. *Houa i i in* IIa, f.16r. *keb keḡe'e* 'pour toujours'."

³⁰⁴ Professor Poppe restores "[*tngr* γ aḡar]." As a matter of fact, part of the t - and all the $-n$ - of *tngr* are visible and all of γ aḡar except the $-r$. I transcribe, therefore, [*t*]n[*gr*] γ aḡa[r].

³⁰⁵ The lower half of line is missing.

³⁰⁶ Lit., "up to how long Heaven and Earth are transformed (= destroyed)."

³⁰⁷ Professor Poppe did not translate the expression *inaḡsi-da*. In a letter dated 27 October 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert remarked:

"*Inaḡsi-da* "durant le temps en deçà" = (ne mourant pas) durant le temps qui s'écoulera depuis le moment présent jusqu'à celui où le ciel et la terre se transformeront." Cf. also *inaḡsida* in 12v3 below.

³⁰⁸ The lower half of line 8 is missing.

³⁰⁹ The restoration *ügülebe tere üge-yi Sulqarnai sonosču* for the lower half of line 9 is based on the occurrence of the words *ügülebe tere üge-yi Sulqarnai* [12] *sonosču* in 10v11-12.

³¹⁰ Professor Poppe read "kemebe," but the text has *kembe*.

³¹¹ The last third of line 10 is missing.

³¹² The words *kemen ügülebe* should be restored to close this quotation.

³¹³ The last quarter of line 11 is missing.

³¹⁴ Professor Poppe read "qada γ aḡču," translating, *op. cit.*, p. 127, 11b12, "„Den Felsen besteigend, . . .". While it is possible to read *qada*, it is certainly γ ada which is intended. The expression *qada γ ar*- "to go outside" is the same as *qadaḡa γ ar*- registered in Kowalewski 2.990b: "aller dehors; 'sortir pour faire ses nécessités.'" Cf. the Khalkha "гадаа вне . . . ; ~ гарах выйти. . . ." (Rinčine, *op. cit.*, p. 44a).

³¹⁵ This is *kembe* in 11v1 below.

³¹⁶ Professor Poppe read "ene." In his letter of 27 August 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert remarked:

"*Ene* est certainement fautif. N'est-ce pas l'interjection a "oh!"?"

³¹⁷ At least, one word is missing at the end of line 12. Possibly it is *ta* "ye."

³¹⁸ Lit., "what will hinder, ye?" The words *yaḡu alḡaḡu* may be compared with the words *ya'un alḡaḡu* "what hindereth?" in *The Secret History of the Mongols* §271 (YCPS, *Hsü* 2.20r1). Cf. also the words *bi ülü alḡaḡu* ("I am not disabled") in §131 (YCPS 4.9v2). To Professor Poppe's remarks on the verb *alḡa*, *op. cit.*, p. 122, n. 81, there may be added those in my own review of Erich Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* in the *HJAS* 12 (1949) 497-534 (pp. 525-526).

Cf. also Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 . . .," p. 110, n. 81, for my remark on the adjective *aljangγu* (*alja*- + *-ngγu*).

³¹⁹ I restore [*kijü*] after *teyin* on the basis of *teyin kijü* in 9v12 and 12r12 below.

³²⁰ There was, at least, one more word at the end of line 1.

³²¹ Professor Poppe restored "[*ügülebe?*]." On the basis of the parallel sentence, *dal[ai-in]* [11] *dotor-a-qi üjegsenigen bügüdei noyad-turiyan ü[güle]jü* [12] *ögbe* in 9v10-12, I restore *ü[güle]jü ögbe*.

³²² For *irgen orγan* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 122, n. 83.

³²³ Professor Poppe read "*üjegseni(?)*-in" and translated, *op. cit.*, p. 127, 12a2, "was er . . . gesehen hatte." I think that, although the upper part of the *-j-* of *üjegseni-in* is invisible, both the reading and the translation are correct. However, it remains to explain the form *üjegseni-in*. If we confront the passage in which *üjegsenigen* has been encountered (9v11) with that in which *üjegseni-in* is encountered (11v2) we note considerable similarity in pattern:

1) *dal[ai-in]* [11] *dotor-a-qi üjegsenigen*

2) *qarangγu dotor-a-qi ali-be üjegseni-in*

Professor Poppe, as we have seen in note 217 above, has explained the form *üjegsenigen* as the accusative of the reflexive-possessive in *-igen* of *üjegsen*, the *nomen imperfecti* in *-gsen* of *üje-* "to see." I believe that in *üjegseni-in* we have exactly the same form, only that *-i-in* corresponds to a colloquial pronunciation which is attested as *-i'en* in *The Secret History of the Mongols*.

³²⁴ The last word of line 2 is missing.

³²⁵ Professor Poppe read "*qadayin*" and translated, *op. cit.*, p. 127, 12a3, "des Felsens." Such a reading, however, is impossible, because the initial letter is *s-*, not *q-* and the vowel of the third syllable is *-a-* not *-i-*. In reading *satayan* (readings *seteyen*, *sadayan*, and *sedeyen* also are possible), I regard this word as a derivative in *-yan* of a verbal root *sata-*. For the verb *sata-* in *The Secret History of the Mongols* cf. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 132. In *satayan* we have, I think, a word which is a synonym of *bügede* "all," "everything." See also my remarks in note 366 on *satas* in 12r11 below.

³²⁶ The rest of line 4 is missing. It contained the verb which governed *tere usu*.

³²⁷ There must have been at the end of line 4 some such words as *teyin kembe* ("So he said") to introduce the quotation which follows.

³²⁸ The lower half of line 5 is missing. It contained the verb which governed [*. . . iyan*].

³²⁹ If the preceding word contained vowels of the front class, the suffix is *-iyen*, not *-iyan*.

³³⁰ This word appeared at the end of line 4.

³³¹ Professor Poppe read "*ani(?)*." He remarked, *op. cit.*, p. 122, n. 84, "Diese Stelle ist beschädigt. Das Wort *ani* kann ein Akkusativ von *a „sie, jene" sein, vgl. *ani* in der *Geheimen Geschichte* (HAENISCH, *Wörterbuch*, S. 8). Da der Text beschädigt ist, kann diese Stelle nicht übersetzt werden." Although the last two letters (*-kü*) are faint, the word clearly is *anekü* (= *enekü*), i. e., *ane* (= *ene*) + *kü* "this."

³³² The rest of line 6 is missing, with the exception of an initial *k-* or *g-*.

³³³ For *jarimud*, a plural in *-ud* of *jarim* "half", "some", cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 122, n. 85.

³³⁴ Lit., "In [view of] the fact of Heaven's, favoring, having given."

⁸³⁵ Professor Poppe read “u[γubasu]” but, as the -γ- and, at least, half of the -u- are visible, I read *uγu[basu]*.

⁸³⁶ The last quarter of line 8 is missing.

⁸³⁷ If I supply the word *abügen* (= *ebügen*), it is because the back of the -b- is clearly visible.

⁸³⁸ Professor Poppe read “kembe.” The text, however, has *kembe*.

⁸³⁹ For *sayar* ~ *sayad* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 122, n. 88.

⁸⁴⁰ In *qoçarbasu* we have a conditional in -*basu* of *qoçar-* (> *qoçor-*) “to remain behind.” For *qoçor-* also used metaphorically in the sense of “to die” cf. *qoçor-* in Kowalewski 2.241a-b: “métaph. mourir.”

⁸⁴¹ Lit., “of thee also the fact of having existed of thee.” The use of the pronoun twice, at the beginning as well as the end of the phrase, *činu ber aysan činu*, is characteristic of the every-day language. See note 104 above and note 353 below.

⁸⁴² It is virtually impossible to render the words *čimayi būrūn* literally into English, because, while *čimayi* is the object of the *nomen futuri dayaqun*, it is set in relief by *būrūn* “as for.” A translation “As for thee, . . . people who follow” does not show the relationship between *čimayi* and *dayaqun*, although it does show the relationship between *čimayi* and *būrūn*. For this reason, I have supplied *thee* a second time in brackets: “As for thee, . . . people who follow [thee].”

⁸⁴³ Lit., “when it draweth nigh.” For *ayisurun*, a *converbum praeparativum* in -*run* of *ayis-* “to draw nigh” to which the suffix is attached by means of the union vowel -u-, cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 122, n. 89.

⁸⁴⁴ It is not clear from Professor Poppe’s translation, *op. cit.*, p. 128, 12b3, that the words *ane* (= *ene*) *metü ayisurun* constitute a parenthetical remark. It would, perhaps, be preferable to render the whole sentence: “Was dich [selbst] betrifft—wenn derartiges kommt—so werden die dir folgenden Leute [doch] nicht wiedergeboren werden.” In this manner, the syntactical relationship of the words *ane* (= *ene*) *metü ayisurun* with the rest of the sentence is more evident.

⁸⁴⁵ For *törei*, an archaic present in -i of *töre-* (> *törö-*) “to be born,” cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 122, n. 90.

⁸⁴⁶ Professor Poppe read “gemsiküi-eče *aiqu*⁹² *bügesü*” and translated, *op. cit.*, p. 128, 12b6, “Wenn du dich fürchtest [dies] zu bereuen.” However, as *gemsiküi-eče aiku bügesü* would be the opposite of what the *noyan* would be expected to say, it is reasonable to assume that the word *ülü* was inadvertently omitted by the copyist.

⁸⁴⁷ For *aiku*, the *nomen futuri* in -*qu* of *ai* (~ *ayi*) “to be afraid,” cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 92.

⁸⁴⁸ For this meaning of *üjügür* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 122, n. 91.

⁸⁴⁹ Regardless of what verb may have occurred in the apodosis of the condition in Mongolian, the auxiliary “would,” probably, would have to be employed in the English translation.

⁸⁵⁰ With the exception of the faint trace of a letter or two, nothing remains of the rest of line 5, which must have terminated with a verb such as *bol-* “to be.”

⁸⁵¹ Only the initial letter of the last word of this line remains. It seems to be a *t-*. The word may have been *t[eyin]* “so.” In which case *ker-be t[eyin]* would mean “If so.”

⁸⁵² For this use of *marui bol-* “to become bad” cf. the words *ma<u>’u bolju* “he was bad” in *The Secret History of the Mongols* §67 (YCPS 1.48r4).

³⁵³ The use of the pronoun twice, at the beginning as well as the end of the phrase, *či goina marui bolqu či*, is characteristic of the every-day language. See notes 104 and 341 above and note 396 below.

³⁵⁴ The last quarter of line 7 is missing. However, the missing words probably were *tere üge-yi* "that word."

³⁵⁵ Professor Poppe restored "bü[ged]," translating, *op. cit.*, p. 128,12b8, "teyin bü[ged]" "und sodann." In his letter of 27 October 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert remarked:

"Je pense qu'à la ligne 8 il faut écrire: *teyin bü[gesü]* au lieu de *teyin bü[ged]*. Sulqarnai doit avoir dit: "S'il en est ainsi (*teyin bü[gesü]*) quelle utilité y a-t-il à boire cette eau?" et, sur ce, il la répand. Ja pense donc que les paroles de Sulqarnai commencent par le mot *teyin*."

³⁵⁶ Unfortunately, the lower half of line 8 is missing. I think that among the words which must have occurred in it was *usun* "water."

³⁵⁷ The word [*yarun*] must have occurred at the end of line 8.

³⁵⁸ For *γarturiyan*, the reflexive-possessive of the dative-locative in *-turiyan* of *γar* "hand," cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 93.

³⁵⁹ The rest of line 9 is missing.

³⁶⁰ Lit., "when, pouring the water, he sent." Here, *ilebesü*, the *converbum conditionale* in *-besü* of *ile-* "to send," is used as an auxiliary verb.

³⁶¹ Only the faintest trace of one letter of the last word of line 10 is visible. The word may have been *deger-e* "upon." If so, it may have been preceded by the genitive suffix. In other words, the text may have read *arča modun-u n[abčī]n[-u deger-e]*.

³⁶² As for this word, the initial *n-*, the back of the *-b-*, and the final *-n* are visible. In view of the fact that the *arča modun* has leaves, not needles, the restoration *n[abčī]n* seems reasonably certain.

³⁶³ Lit., "the *arča* tree," the word *arča* being used to specify the sort of *modun*. For the term *arča modun* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 94.

For the expression *arča-yin nabčīn* cf. the expression *arča-yin nabčīn-u tedüi* in a passage of the *Ger dabqučaryulırsan sudur* (*Kütägāra sūtra*), cited by Nicholas Poppe, *The Mongolian Monuments in hP'ags-pa Script*, Second Edition translated and edited by John P. Krueger, *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, Band 8, Wiesbaden, 1957, p. 107, n. 96. Professor Poppe translated the expression "the size of a juniper-leaf."

³⁶⁴ In *arča modun tereküber* we have an interesting example in which the determinative pronoun *terekiüber*, that is *tere kü ber*, used adjectively, follows the substantive which it determines.

For two examples of this usage in *The Secret History* cf. the words *Ong qan tere* "Ong Qan—that [one]—" in §170 (*YCPS* 6.2v1-2) and *Jebe tere* "Jebe—that [one]—" in §257 (*YCPS*, *Hsü* 1.37v1).

For an example in a later text cf. the words *degedü sutu boyda činggis qayan tere ber* "Ce sublime Sutu Boghda Tchingis-khan" found in a "ritual manuscript de l'aspersion estivale du lait de jument rapporté d'Üchin" cited by Antoine Mostaert in note 7 on page 332 of his article "L'«Ouverture du sceau» et les adresses chez les Ordos" in *Monumenta serica* 1 (1935-1936).315-337.

³⁶⁵ In *übiül jun*, "winter and summer," we have an expression which in Ordos is

"öwöl džun-ug^ui." Cf. Antoine Mostaert, *op. cit.* 2.751b: "öwöl džun-ug^ui ^uunw^uži ^uᠪᠠᠭᠠᠨ ^umori cheval qu'on monte toute l'année." In Kalmuk we have "ö. [= öw]—F.W.C.] *zun ug^e winter und sommer*" (G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, Helsinki, 1935, p. 303a).

³⁶⁶ Professor Poppe read "qatan" and translated, *op. cit.*, p. 128, 12b11, "qatan *tilü* qoqirauqi" "trocknete und ging . . . nicht ein." In reading *qatan*, he must have had in mind the verb *qata*- "dessécher, secher peu à peu" (Kowalewski 2.773a-b), of which *qatan* would be the *converbum modale* in -n. It is, however, impossible to read *qatan*, because the initial letter is s-, not q-, and nowhere in the text is a final -n written with so short a stroke. The word is either *satas* or *satγ* (= *sataγ*). (It is, of course, also possible to read *sadas*, *sedes*, etc.) I regard it as being related to the word *satayan* in 11v3 above. It appears to be a synonym of *oryto* (~ *oryta*) "tout-à-fait, entièrement, à jamais; avec la négat. point du tout, d'aucune manière, etc." (Kowalewski 1.433a-b). Hence, *sadas üll[ü]*—not "üllü"—appears to be the same as *oryto üllü* "not at all."

³⁶⁷ For *kijü*, the *converbum imperfecti* in -jü of *ki*- "to do," used as a *verbum finitum*, see note 225 above.

³⁶⁸ In a letter dated 27 October 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert proposed the following ingenious explanation of the enigmatic words *arγsan tügel* which immediately follow the words *teyin kijü*:

"*Kijü* est évidemment possible, mais on peut se demander si *arγsan* n'est pas une faute pour *esen*, écrit *asen*: [12v12] *esen tügel M[si]r* [13v1] *balayasan-a irejü. Esen tügel* "en bonne santé". Cf. l'expression *esen tügel* employé par Saγang sečen à propos de son retour chez lui en compagnie de Erinčen jinong en 1634: *Sanang sečen qung tayiji-yin ulus-tur esen tügel kürčü irebei* (Schmidt, p. 280, 15-16)."

For Schmidt's translation cf., *op. cit.*, p. 281: "[worauf sie noch . . .] bei dem Volke des *Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi*, . . . in Gesundheit und Wohlseyn eintrafen." Cf. also Scripta Mongolica II, Part II, p. 257, ll. 7-8: *Saγang Sečen qung tayiji[8]-yin ulus-tur esen tügel kürčü irebei* ✧; Part III, p. 251, ll. 4-5: *Saγang Sečen qung tayiji-yin ulus-tur esen* [5] *tügel kürčü irebei*; and Part IV, p. 253, ll. 6-7: *Saγang qung tayiji-yin ulus-tur* [7] *esen tügel kürčü irebei*. Cf. also the synonymous expression *esen mendü* used by Saγang Sečen (Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 278, ll. 14-15): *bing bars jül-e* [15] *esen mendü kürčü irebei*. For Schmidt's translation cf. *op. cit.*, p. 279: "womit er im *Bing-Panther-Jahre* (1626) glücklich und gesund bei den Seinen anlangte." (Cf. Kowalewski 1.191a.) Cf. also Scripta Mongolica II, Part II, p. 255, l. 9: *bing bars jül-e esen tügel kürčü irebei* ✧; Part III, p. 248, ll. 10-11; *ulaγan bars jül esen tügel kürčü* [11] *irebei*; and Part IV, p. 251, l. 7: *bing bars jül-e esen tügel kürčü irebei*. It is most interesting to note that the three manuscripts published in Scripta Mongolica II have the reading *esen tügel* instead of *esen mendü* as in that published by Schmidt. It would appear that *esen mendü* in the latter is a "modernization" of the more archaic expression *esen tügel* in the former.

For *tügel* cf. Kowalewski 3.1927a: "entier, complet." Cf. also Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 96. To the examples there cited there may be added that of *tükel* in the expression *tübšin tükel* in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Cf. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 153.

³⁶⁹ Professor Poppe reads "balayasan-a," but the text has *balayasan-a*.

³⁷⁰ As the end of line 1 is missing, the suffix, if any, after the substantive qualified by *yeke* "great" also is missing.

³⁷¹ As the end of line 1 is missing, the substantive qualified by *yeke* "great" also is missing.

³⁷² For *quriju*, the *converbum imperfecti* in *-ju* of *quri* "to assemble" (*v. intr.*), cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 99.

³⁷³ In this instance, the instrumental (*-iyar*) appears to have a comitative force. Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 128, 13a1-2, understands this passage somewhat differently: "1. Darauf versammelten sich Sulkharnai und die große [Menge] 2. [seiner] Gefährten. . ."

³⁷⁴ This translates *kembe* in line 8 below.

³⁷⁵ For *sonosudqun*, the imperative of the second person plural in *-dun*, of *sonos*, plus the union vowel (*-u-*), cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 100.

³⁷⁶ Here *marysida* ~ *marysi-da* in 11r8 above.

³⁷⁷ For the expression *atüge ake* (= *etüge eke*) cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 101.

³⁷⁸ In *joqiyarсан* we have the *nomen perfecti* in *-сан* of *joqiya-* (> *jokiya-*) "to create." For the orthography *joqiya-* cf. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 . . .," pp. 95-96, n. 11.

³⁷⁹ Only the upper tip of the initial letter of the last word in line 3 is visible. The letter appears to be *t-*.

³⁸⁰ Professor Poppe read "urida," but the text has *ürida*.

³⁸¹ For *qad*, a plural in *-d* of *qan* "sovereign," cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 103.

³⁸² Professor Poppe read "edü[ge]." However, as the tip of the tail of the final *-e* is visible, I prefer to read *adü[ge]*.

³⁸³ The last third of line 4 is missing.

³⁸⁴ Professor Poppe restored "t[ö]rebei j-e." If I prefer *t[ö]remü* j[-e], it is because it is *töremü j-e* which terminates an identical sentence in 12v6 below. As the *j-* of j[-e] is visible, I do not include it within the brackets.

³⁸⁵ The rest of line 5 is missing.

³⁸⁶ I. e., "of me, Sulqarnai."

³⁸⁷ Professor Poppe reads "jiryalangyi," but the text has *jiryalngγi* (= *jiryalangγi*). For the accusative suffix *-γi* attached to the word *jiryalng* (= *jiryalang*) cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 104.

³⁸⁸ The rest of line 6 is missing.

³⁸⁹ Professor Poppe read "nasula[qu]," but, as the second *-a-* is not visible, I read *nasul[aqu]*.

³⁹⁰ Professor Poppe restored "tögü[sčü?]." Inasmuch as we have *tögüsbesü* in 11r1 above (see note 292), I prefer tentatively to restore *tögülsbesü(?)*.

³⁹¹ Professor Poppe reads "ende" "here." I originally read *ade* "these." However, in a letter dated 27 October 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert observed:

"Je ne crois pas à la lecture *ende*. *Ade* (= *ede*) aussi ne peut, à mon avis, être la bonne lecture. Sulqarnai raconte ici ses aventures. Cf. les lignes 8-12. C'est pourquoi je pense qu'il faut lire *Nada es-e üjegdegsen irgen orγan ügei bui j-e* "Il n'y a pas de gens qui n'aient été vus par moi" *Nada* ~ *nadur*. Cf. *Hist. secr. et mongol écrit*. Le datif *nada* continue de vivre dans les dialectes (Dagur, Ordos, Khalkha, etc.)"

I have, therefore, adopted the reading *nada*.

³⁹² As we have, in this sentence, a series of accusatives (*dalai ötögen-i yeke tenggis-i*

tenggisün iruγ(ar-i)), the verb at the end of line 9 almost certainly was *tu[γul]ju*, the *converbum imperfecti* in *-ju* of *tuγul* "to traverse." The transcriptions "togholkhou, doughoulkhou" in Kowalewski 3.1809a are incorrect. The examples cited by Kowalewski 3.1809a and b in which we have the accusative—*γool-i tuγulqu* "passer un fleuve" and *qola berke jam-ud-i tuγulqu* "faire des voyages lointains et périlleux" may easily be multiplied. Cf., e.g., the words *jaγur-a berke ööl-nuγud-i tuγulurγad* "having traversed the difficult deserts in between" in line 23 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362.

³⁹³ For *tenggis*, a Turkish loanword, cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 106. Cf. also Pelliot's review of G. D. Sanžeev, "Манчжуро-монгольские языковые параллели" (see note 33 above), p. 117:

"... P. 693. Pour expliquer la forme *tänggis* du mongol, il suffit d'y voir un emprunt au turc."

³⁹⁴ Professor Poppe inadvertently included a note on the word *orai*, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 107, with which he had already dealt in a previous note, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 14.

³⁹⁵ For *od*, a plural in *-d* of *on* "year," cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 109.

³⁹⁶ Here, in view of the construction *mongke-yin usun*, the word *mongke* (= *möngke*) appears to be used as a substantive.

³⁹⁷ The use of the pronoun twice in the same line (*adüge bi ane γaγar-un deger-e γaγča bi*) is characteristic of the every-day language. See notes 104, 341, and 353 above.

³⁹⁸ For *bülege* ~ *bülüge* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 112.

³⁹⁹ Professor Poppe read "minu," but, as the letters *-in-* have been lost, I read *m[in]u*.

⁴⁰⁰ Lit., "if (= when) I die," *namayi*, the accusative of *bi* "I," here being the subject of *ükübesü*, the *converbum conditionale* in *-besü* of *ükü* "to die."

⁴⁰¹ Professor Poppe translated, *op. cit.*, p. 128, 13b3, *dalai* by "alle" and remarked, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 113, that "*dalai* bedeutet hier „alle, alles“, s. Anm. 11." I am inclined rather to the view that *dalai* here means "ocean" with, possibly, the sense of "world."

⁴⁰² For the expression *angqa urida* cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 in Memory of Chang Ying-jui," *HJAS* 13(1950).1-131 (+ Plates I-XXXV) (p. 124, n. 207).

⁴⁰³ For *argülüdkün* (= *ergülüdkün*), the imperative of the second person plural in *-dkün* of *argül-* (= *ergül-*) (with the union vowel *-ü-*), a causative in *-l-* of *argü-* (= *ergü-*) cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 116.

⁴⁰⁴ Professor Poppe read "*narid*¹¹⁴ *ökid*" but the text has *ökidi* (acc.). For the expression *narid ökid* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 114.

⁴⁰⁵ Inasmuch as this word cannot be *nadur* ("to me"), the *dativus-locativus* of the pronoun *bi* "I," and as it is highly unlikely that it is the Arabic نادر (*nād(i)r*) "rare," "unusual," "costly," as suggested by Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 115, I have adopted, on a provisional basis, the reading *natur*, because there is a personal name *Na-t'u-erh* 納圖兒 (*Natur*). Cf. Paul Pelliot et Louis Hambis, *Histoire des Campagnes de Gengis khan*, Tome I, Leiden, 1951, p. 153. If, as seems likely, the word *natur* designates a receptacle of some sort, it is by no means extraordinary that it be used as a personal name. Other readings, however, are possible.

⁴⁰⁶ For *tana* cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 115. Cf. also Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338 . . .," pp. 96-97, n. 124.

⁴⁰⁷ For *subud* cf. the Reverend Antoine Mostaert *apud* Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 . . .," p. 125, n. 213.

⁴⁰⁸ Lit., "putting [in] a thousand *natur* of gold full big pearls, little pearls, and gold."

⁴⁰⁹ For *jalayus*, a plural in *-s* of *jalayu* "young" cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 117.

⁴¹⁰ I. e., "causing them to sing."

⁴¹¹ For *irayus*, a plural in *-s* of *irayu* "singer" cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 118.

⁴¹² I. e., "causing them to zither." For *quyurdaju*, the *converbum imperfecti* in *ju* of *quyurda-* (composed of *quyur* + the suffix *-da-*) "to zither" cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 119. For the causitive form *qu'urda'ul-* in *The Secret History of the Mongols* cf. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 73.

⁴¹³ In *quyurčini* we have the accusative in *-i* of *quyurčın*, a plural in *-n* of *quyurči* (composed of *quyur* + the suffix *-či*) "zitherist."

⁴¹⁴ For *nasutani*, the accusative in *-i* of *nasutan*, the plural in *-n* of *nasutai* "having . . . years," which agrees in number and case with the word *köbegüdi* "sons," cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 120.

⁴¹⁵ Professor Poppe read "q[oina]," but, as the *-a* is visible, I read q[oin]a.

⁴¹⁶ Professor Poppe read "y[aburyuludqun]," but, as the tip of the *-a-* is visible, I read ya[bur]uludqun].

⁴¹⁷ For *čayayad*, a plural in *-d* of *čayayan* ~ *čayan* "white," in the expression *čayayad terigüten*, cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 121.

⁴¹⁸ At least, one word is missing at the end of line 8.

⁴¹⁹ Professor Poppe read "ebüged," but, as the initial *a-* (= *e-*) is not visible, I read [a]büged.

⁴²⁰ My reading d[aru]ji-dur is tentative.

⁴²¹ Only the letters *-abu-* of the word [y]abu[tuɣai] are visible. It is, of course, possible that the form of the word is other than that of the *optativus* in *-tuɣai*.

⁴²² Although this word is partially obliterated, there can be no doubt that it is *jalbariju*, the *converbum imperfecti* in *-ju* of *jalbari-* "to pray."

⁴²³ Professor Poppe reads "yabuɣul[udqun?]." Inasmuch as the tail of the final *-n* is perfectly visible, I do not hesitate to read yabuɣul[udqu]n.

⁴²⁴ The last third of line 10 is missing.

⁴²⁵ I follow Professor Poppe in reading *jidās*, a plural in *-s* of *jida* "spear," but I should observe that the word commences with a letter which usually would be č-, not j-.

⁴²⁶ For *üldüs*, a plural in *-s* of *üldü* ~ *ildü* "sword," cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 122.

The expression *jidās üldüs* "spears and swords" ~ *üldü jida* "swords and spears" in *The Secret History of the Mongols* §170 (YCPS 6.3v1-2): *üčügen-eče üldü jida-tur daduɣsan irgen tede*. "Those [are] people which from childhood have been accustomed to swords and spears."

⁴²⁷ For *aɣuludqun*, an imperative of the second person plural in *-dqun* of *aɣul-*, a causative in *-ɣul-* of *a-* "to be" cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 94.

⁴²⁸ In the passage in Bertel's, *op. cit.*, p. 94, to which Professor Poppe referred, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 94, we read: "Искендер чувствует приближение смерти и отдает три приказа: престол передать Искендерусу, похоронить его так,

чтобы о б е р у к и были высунуты из гроба, и предать тело земле в Александрии.” [“Iskender feels the approach of death and gives three orders: to transmit the throne to Iskenderus, to bury him so that *both hands* be thrust out from the coffin, and to commit the body to the earth in Alexandria.”]

⁴²⁹ The word after *namayi* “me” seems to begin with the letters *üje-*. If so, it probably is a form of *üje-* “to see.”

⁴³⁰ The word after that which seems to begin with the letters *üje-* seems to terminate with the letters *-gei*.

⁴³¹ Possibly, one short word is missing at the end of line 11.

⁴³² The subject of this sentence must have been at the end of line 11.

⁴³³ I. e., my belly?

⁴³⁴ Presumably, the subject is the same as that of the previous condition.

⁴³⁵ See note 434 above.

⁴³⁶ Professor Poppe read “ba,” but the word surely is *ǰ-e*, hence *bülege ǰ-e*.

⁴³⁷ See note 434 above.

⁴³⁸ Professor Poppe read “[t]edeger,” but it seems to me that, if the word is *tedeger*, an extension in *-ger* of *tede* “those,” the plural of *tere* “that,” we must read *t[ed]eger*, because the letters *-ed-* are obliterated.

⁴³⁹ Professor Poppe read “*tngrī-d[e] ǰabsar*” and translated, *op. cit.*, p. 129, 13v1, “im Himmel, im Zwischenraume.” As the parallelism *aburaqu bügesü aburan čidaqu bülege ǰ-e* (12v13): *tngrī t[ej]ǰyebesü* [2] *aburan čidaqu bülege* (13r1-2) requires a verb in the conditional and as, in my opinion, the verb is *t[ej]ǰyebesü*, I do not hesitate to read *tngrī t[ej]ǰyebesü*, “if Heaven nourish [them].”

⁴⁴⁰ The subject of *čidaqu* must have appeared at the end of 12v11.

⁴⁴¹ For the unusual position of *ba* “and” (*töreged ba ükükiü*) see note 97 above.

⁴⁴² For *tore-* > *törö-* see note 345 above.

⁴⁴³ Professor Poppe read “*keb keǰige*.” However, as the *-ge* of *keǰige* is not visible, I read *keǰǰge*.

⁴⁴⁴ Professor Poppe read “*urid[a]*.” This cannot be *urid[a]*, however, because the first letter surely is *q-*. Tentatively, I read *qurid[aǰu]*, the *converbum imperfecti* in *-ǰu* of *qurida-*, a *passivus* in *-da-* of *quri-* “to assemble.”

⁴⁴⁵ I. e., the “old men.”

⁴⁴⁶ The last third of line 4 is missing. I think that the last word in the line was *qad*. Cf. *qad noǰad* in 12r5 above and 13r6 below.

⁴⁴⁷ In *törebeǰi*, we have a *praeteritum perfecti* in *-beǰi* of *töre-* (> *törö-*) “to be born.”

⁴⁴⁸ The second word in this sentence unquestionably is *ba* “and.”

⁴⁴⁹ Professor Poppe read “*edübe(?)*”¹²⁵. I think that the question mark may be removed, although I prefer to read *adübe*. Cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 125, for an explanation of the word *adü* (= *edü*) + the suffix *-be*.

⁴⁵⁰ The rest of line 5—almost half of the entire line—is missing.

⁴⁵¹ The last quarter of line 6 is missing.

⁴⁵² Lit., “if (= when) one finish dying.”

⁴⁵³ Although I read *abüged*—Professor Poppe reads “*ebüged*”—I should observe that only the first point of the *a-* is visible.

⁴⁵⁴ See note 452 above.

⁴⁵⁵ This is *kembe* in line 12 below.

⁴⁵⁶ See note 452 above.

⁴⁵⁷ This is *aǰuγu* in line 12 below.

⁴⁵⁸ Professor Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 127, remarked:

“ Diese Zeile ist in türkischer (uigurischer) Sprache geschrieben und bedeutet „Man möge glücklich werden! Es möge glückbringender (wört. verteilhafter) Wohlstand kommen! ” ”

In his letter of 27 October 1957 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert observed:

“ Il est évident que la l. 11 n'appartient pas au texte. Quant au texte, on ne voit pas bien où il finit. Il me semble manifeste que les deux derniers mots *aǰuγu kemebe* sont simplement une addition fantaisiste. Ces deux mots sont d'une autre main. Veuillez comparer les deux *aǰuγu* de cette même dernière ligne. D'ailleurs *aǰuγu* ne s'emploie pas seul.”

⁴⁵⁹ Here we clearly have *kemebe*, not *kembe*.

⁴⁶⁰ See the Reverend Antoine Mostaert's remarks in note 458 above.

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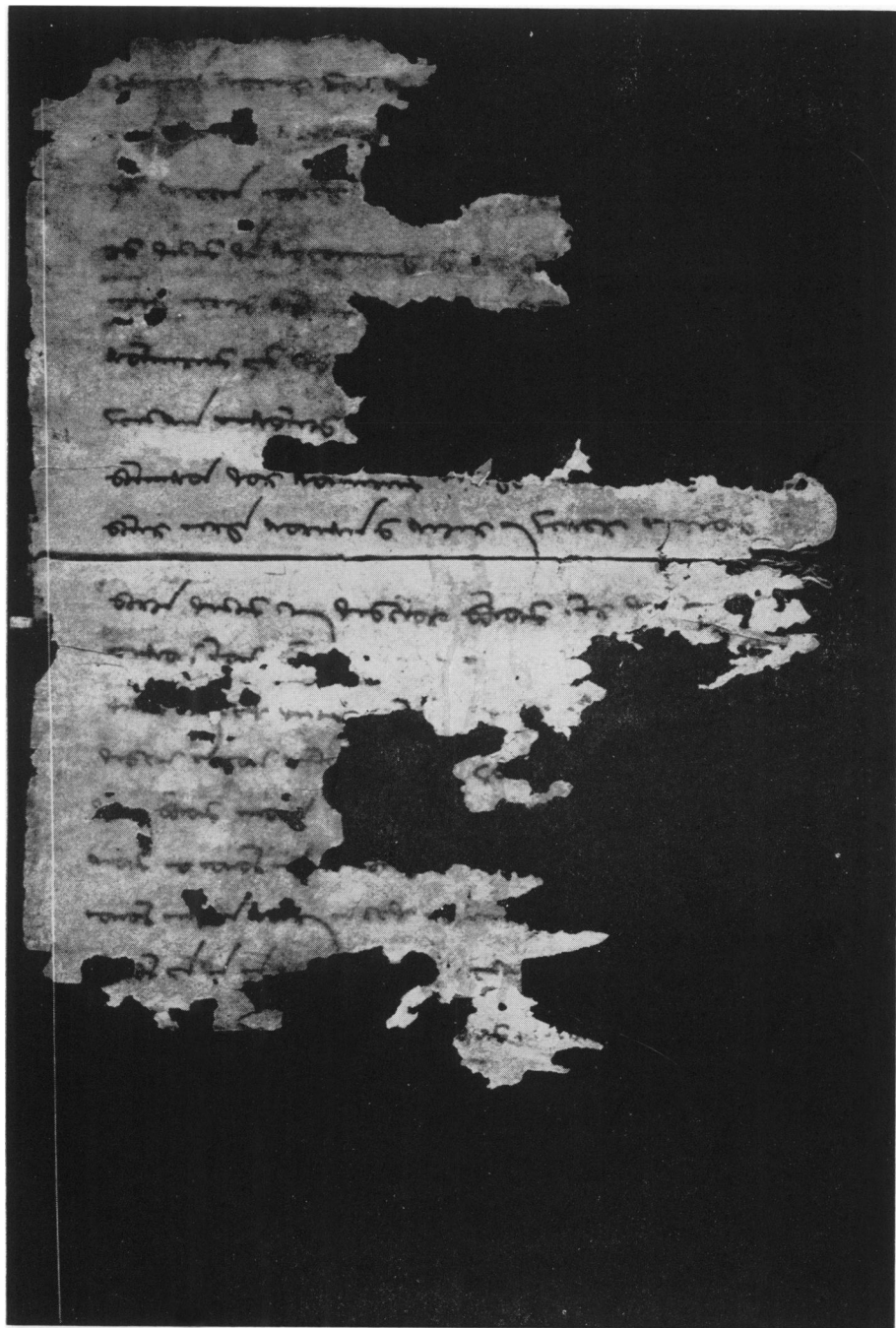


PLATE I

“T I D 155”

(Berlin)

6 *Verso* and 7 *Recto*

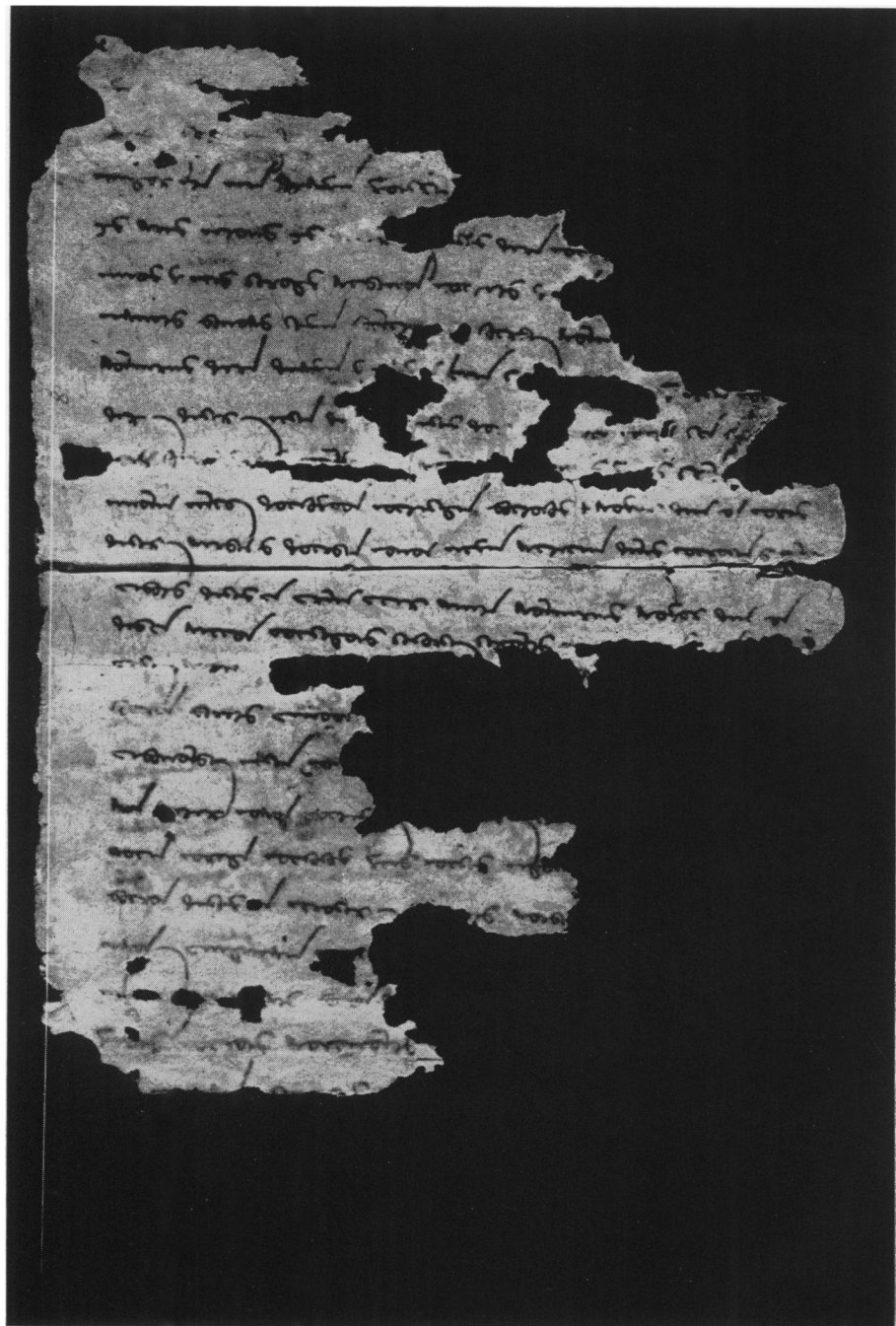


PLATE II

"T I D 155"

(Berlin)

7 Verso and 8 Recto

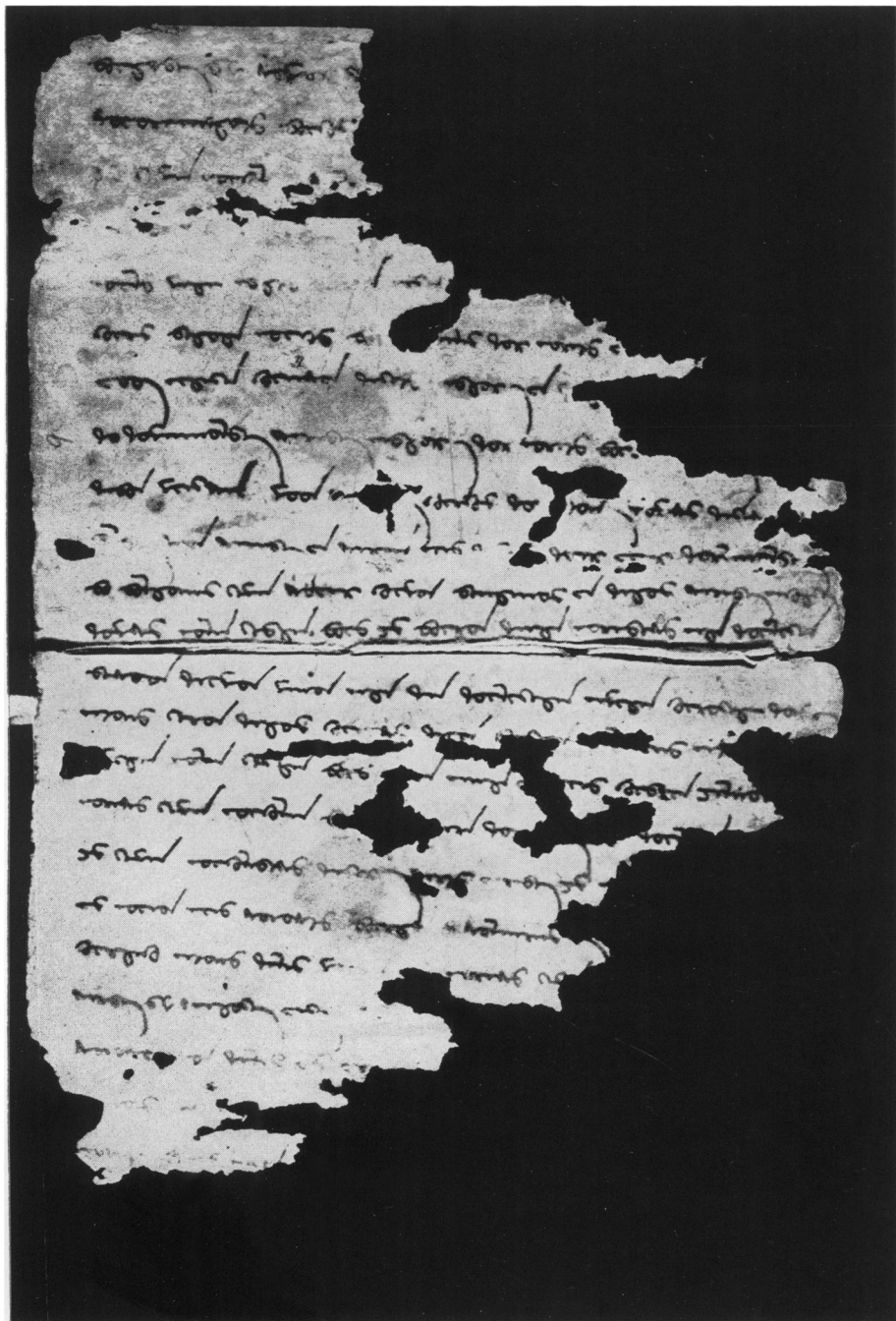


PLATE III

"T I D 155"

(Berlin)

8 Verso and 9 Recto

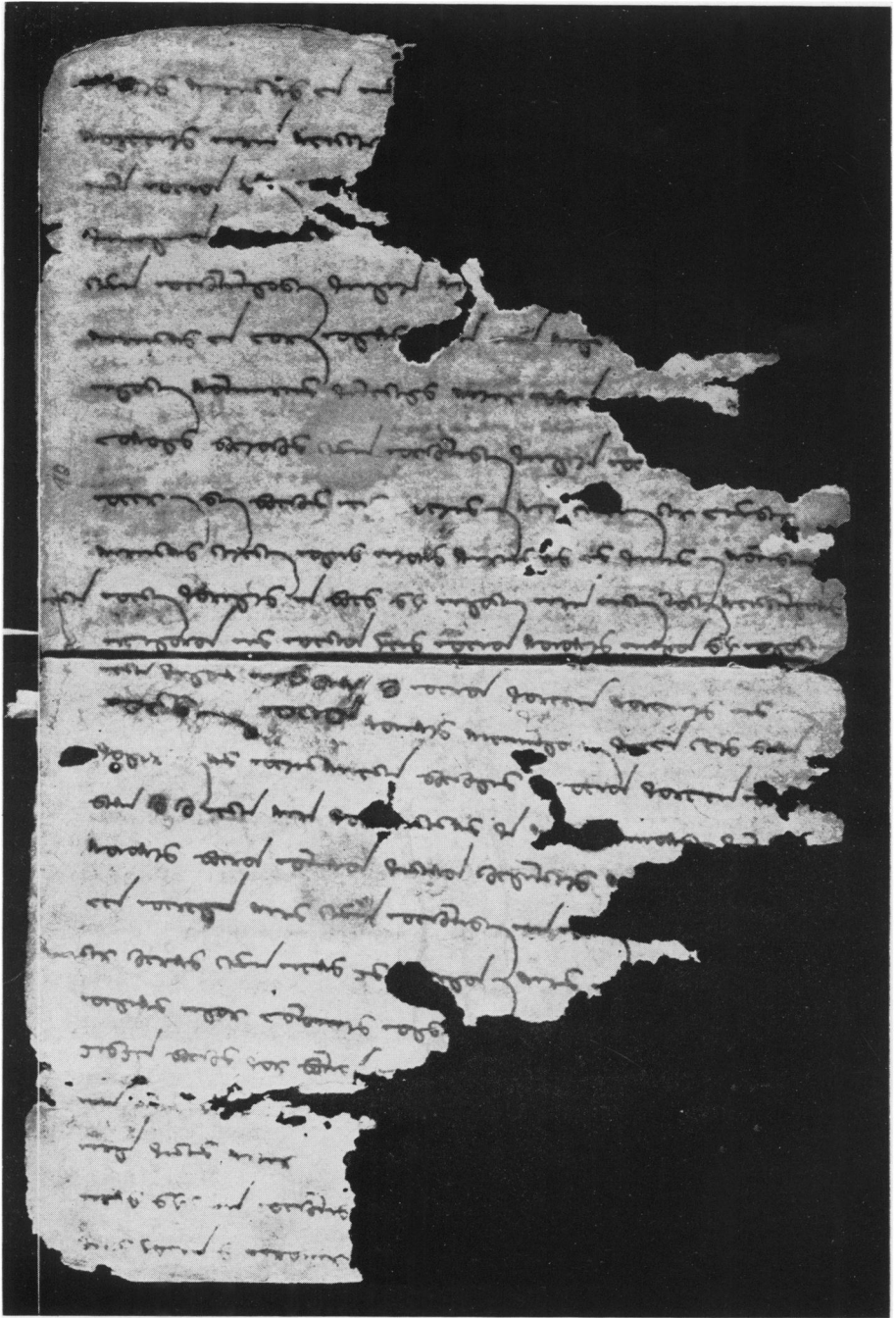


PLATE IV

"T I D 155"

(Berlin)

9 Verso and 10 Recto

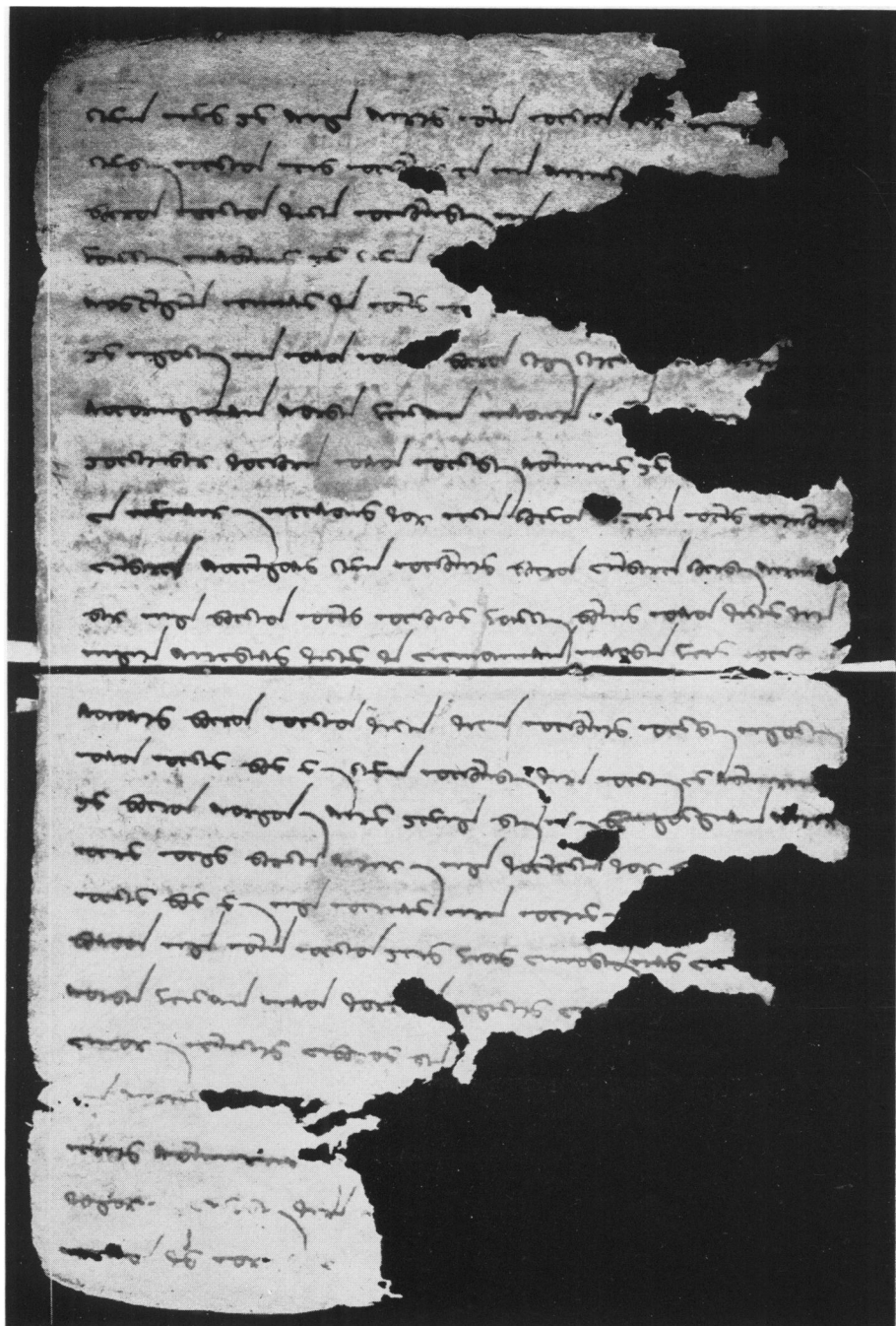


PLATE V

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(Berlin)

10 Verso and 11 Recto

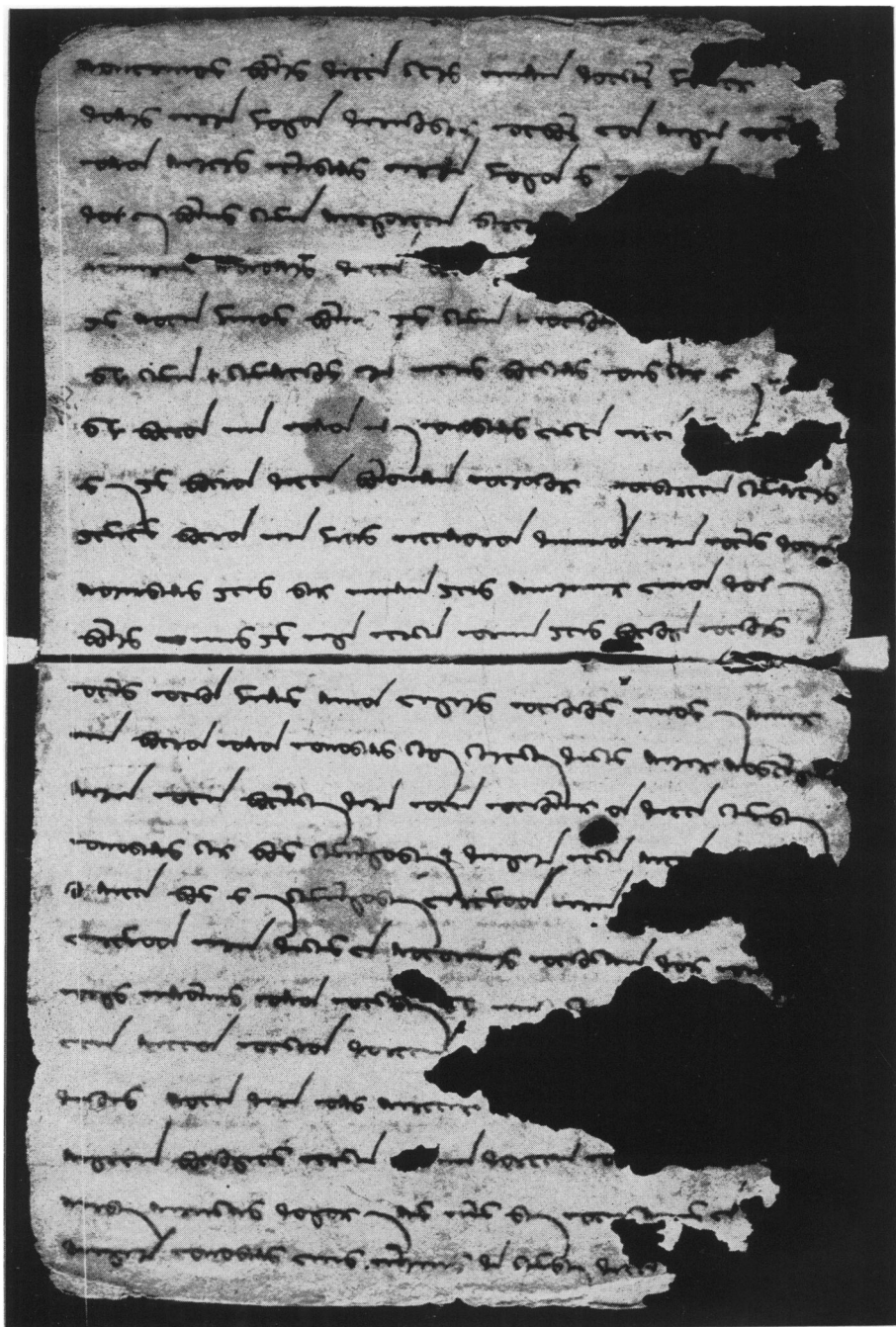


PLATE VI

"T I D 155"

(Berlin)

11 Verso and 12 Recto

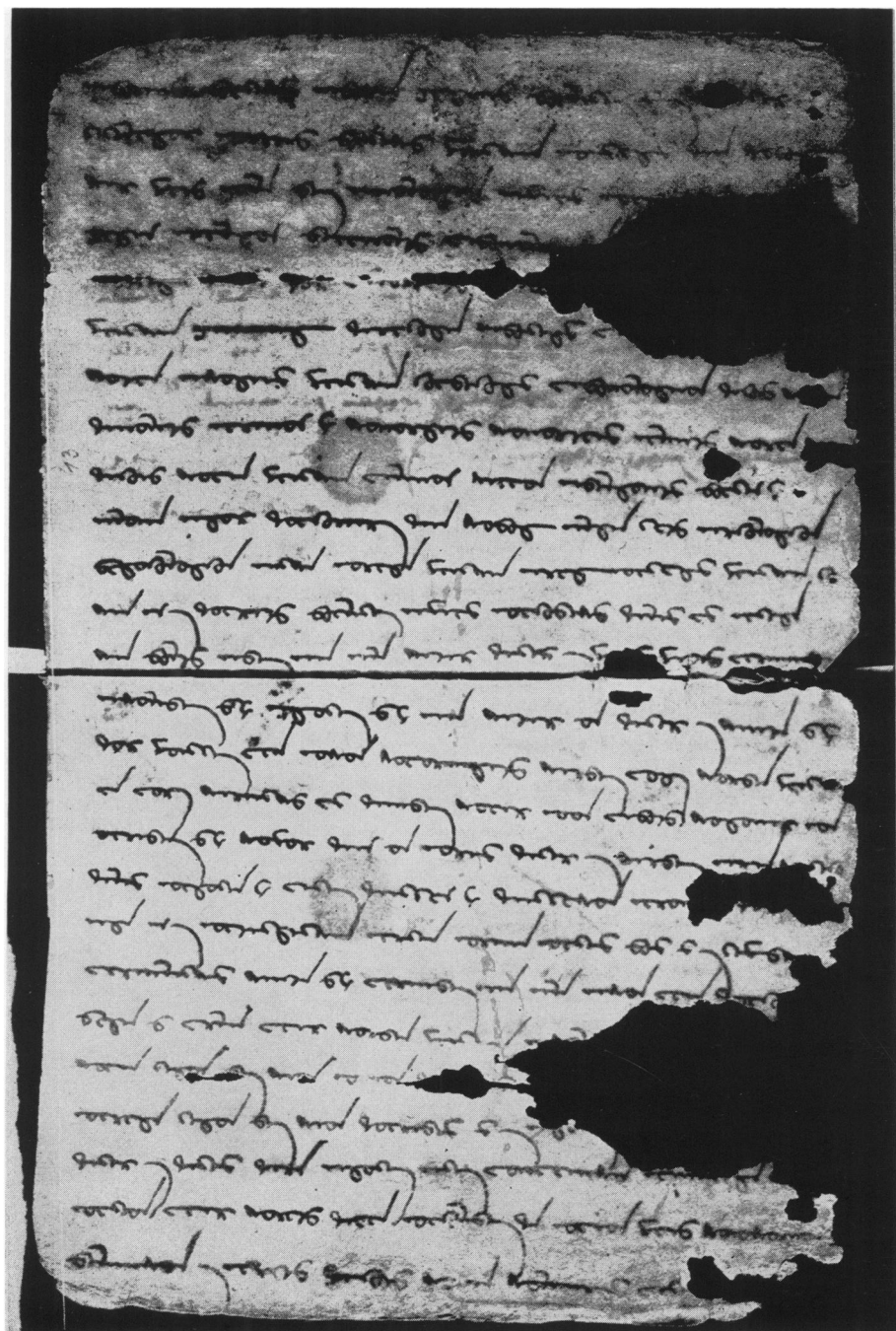


PLATE VII

"T I D 155"

(Berlin)

12 Verso and 13 Recto

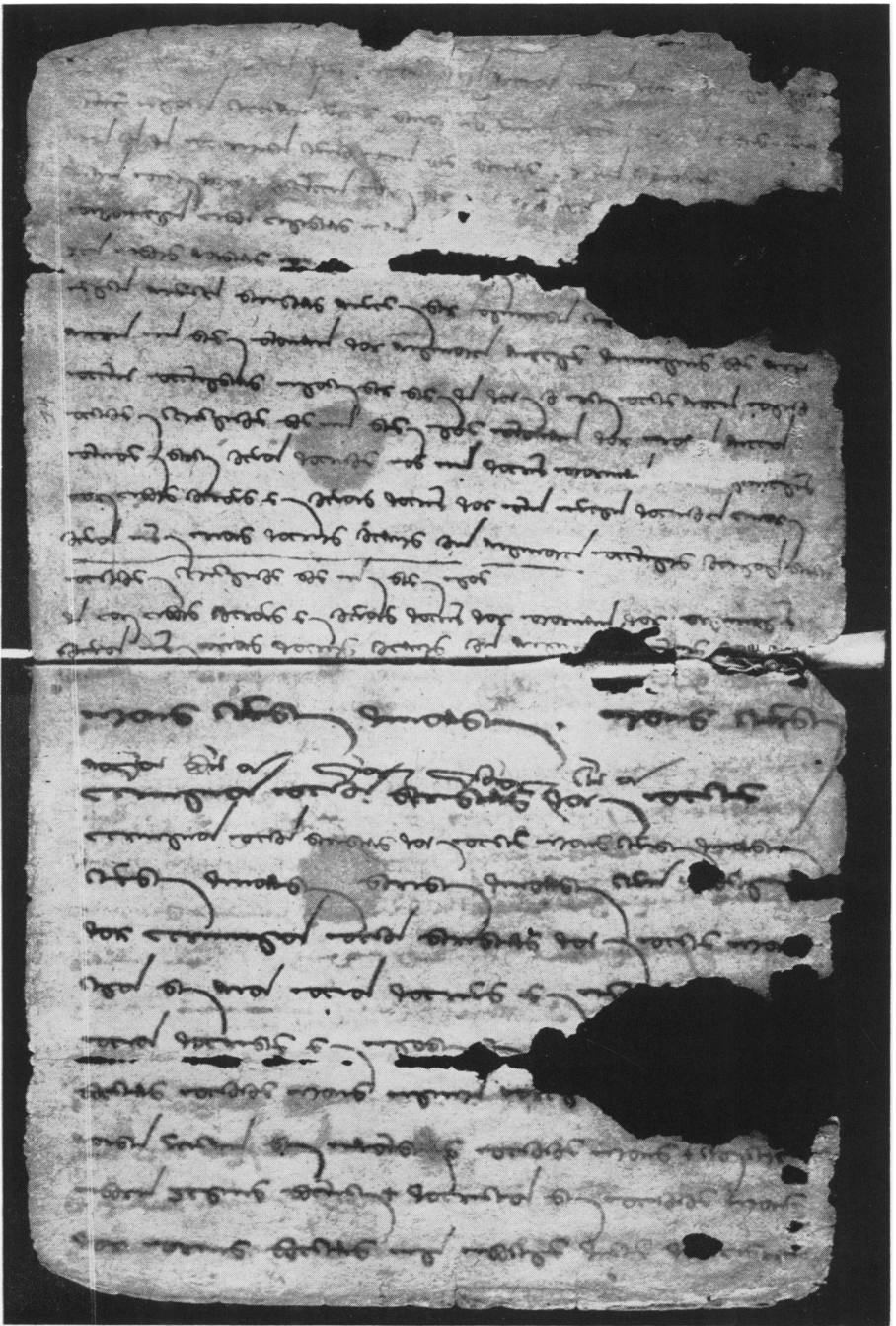


PLATE VIII

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* Because of the regulations which govern the use of unpublished doctoral dissertations in the Archives at Harvard University, I have not cited this valuable work which assuredly merits publication.